A Peep into SEVENTYFIVE YEARS OF BIHAR

(Souvenir)



General Editor
Professor P. N. Ojha

Editor
Professor Upendra Thakur

THE BIHAR RESEARCH SOCIETY, PATNA

Souvenir

A Peep into
SEVENTYFIVE YEARS OF BIHAR

75th ANNUAL SESSION OF NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA

General Editor
PROFESSOR P. N. OJHA
Hony. General Secretary, Bihar Research Society
Director, K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute
&
Chairman-cum-Director, Bihar Sanskrit Academy, Patna.

Editor
PROFESSOR UPENDRA THAKUR
Professor & Head
Department of Ancient Indian & Asian Studies
Magadh University, Bodh Gaya

Published by
THE BIHAR RESEARCH SOCIETY, PATNA

A PEEP INTO SEVENTYFIYE YEARS OF BIHAR

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"संदेश"

मुझे यह जानकर प्रसन्नता हुई है कि बिहार रिसर्च सोसाइटी, काशी प्रसाद जायसवाल शोध संस्थान एवं बिहार संस्कृत अकादमी, पटना के संयुक्त तत्वाधान में दिनांक 13 दिसम्बर से 15 दिसम्बर, 1987 तक भारतीय मुद्रा परिषद का 15वाँ वार्षिक अधिवेशन आयोजित किया जा रहा है। मैं अधिवेशन व इस अवसर पर प्रकाशित होने वाली स्मारिका की सफलता के लिये अपनी शुभकामनाएँ भेजता हूँ।

शंकर दयाल शर्मा



प्रधान मन्त्री कार्यालय
नई दिल्ली 110011
Prime Minister's Office
New Delhi 110011

9 नवम्बर, 1987

पुलक चटर्जी
उप सचिव

प्रिय महोदय,

प्रधान मन्त्री जी को आपका 3 नवम्बर 1987 का पत्र मिला।

उन्हें यह जानकर खुशी है कि बिहार रिसर्च सोसाइटी, काशी प्रसाद जायसवाल शोध संस्थान एवं बिहार संस्कृत अकादमी, पटना के संयुक्त तत्वावधान में 13 दिसम्बर, 1987 से 15 दिसम्बर, 1987 तक भारतीय मुद्रा परिषद का 75वाँ वार्षिक अधिवेशन आयोजित किया जा रहा है और इस अवसर पर एक स्मारिका भी प्रकाशित की जा रही है। प्रधान मन्त्री जी इस अधिवेशन की सफलता के लिए अपनी शुभकामनाएँ भेजते हैं।

भवदीय
पुलक चटर्जी

श्री पी० एन० ओझा,
निदेशक,
काशी प्रसाद जायसवाल शोध, संस्थान,
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पटना–800001 (बिहार)



राजभवन, पटना
RAJ BHAVAN, PATNA
800022

सन्देश

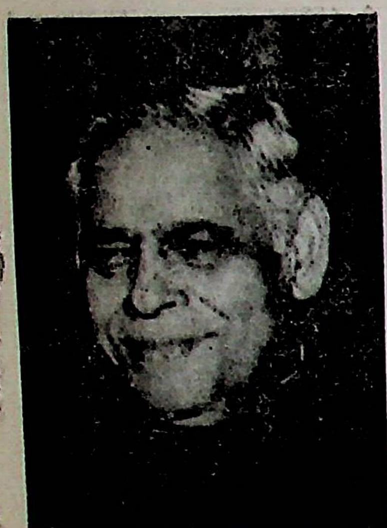
मुझे यह जानकर प्रसन्नता है कि काशी प्रसाद जायसवाल शोध संस्थान, बिहार रिसर्च सोसाइटी एवं बिहार संस्कृत अकादमी पटना के संयुक्त तत्वावधान में दिनांक 13-15 दिसम्बर, 1987 को भारतीय मुद्रा परिषद का 75वाँ वार्षिक अधिवेशन आयोजित किया जा रहा है और इस अवसर पर एक स्मारिका भी प्रकाशित की जायेगी।

प्राचीन काल से भारत मुद्राओं में सम्पन्न रहा है जो इतिहास के शोध कार्य के लिये एक बहुमूल्य श्रोत बना रहा है। समय-समय पर भारत में राजे, राजवाड़े, साम्राज्य तथा अन्य तरह के शासन, प्रणाली आये, और जब इतिहास ने करवट ली तो वे चले भी गये, लेकिन जो मुद्रा तथा सिक्के वे छोड़ गये उनसे, हमें उनकी सभ्यता, संस्कृति, रहन-सहन, तौर तरीके, उनकी कला, मनोरंजन इत्यादि के बारे में बहुत कुछ सीखने को मिलता है। इस ज्ञान को प्रकाश में लाने में पिछले 75 वर्षों में भारतीय मुद्रा परिषद का बहुत बड़ा हाथ रहा है।

मुझे पूरी आशा है कि पूर्व कि भाँति इस अधिवेशन में भी विभिन्न भाग से आने वाले विशेषज्ञों तथा इतिहासकारों के बीच विचांरों का पारस्परिक आदान-प्रदान उच्च कोटि का होगा और इतिहास के शोध में भारतीय मुद्रा परिषद नये कीर्तिमान स्थापित कर सकेगा।

मैं इस अधिवेशन की सफलता के लिये अपनी शुभकामनाएँ भेजता हूँ।

पी० वेंकटसुब्बैया
राज्यपाल बिहार



सन्देश

मुझे यह जानकर अत्यधिक प्रसन्नता हुई कि बिहार रिसर्च सोसाइटी, काशी प्रसाद जायसवाल शोध संस्थान एवं बिहार संस्कृत अकादमी, पटना के संयुक्त तत्वावधान में दिनांक १३ दिसम्बर १९८७ से १५ दिसम्बर १९८७ तक भारतीय मुद्रा परिषद का ७५ वाँ वार्षिक अधिवेशन आयोजित किया जा रहा है तथा इस अवसर पर एक स्मारिका भी प्रकाशित होने जा रही है।

भारतीय इतिहास और संस्कृति के अध्ययन और पुनर्लेखन में मुद्राशास्त्र का विशेष महत्व है। इस ज्ञान को प्रकाश में लाने में भारतीय मुद्रा परिषद का पिछले ७५ वर्षों से सराहनीय योगदान रहा है।

मुझे पूरी आशा है कि पूर्व की भाँति इस अधिवेशन में भी आगन्तुक विशेषज्ञों एवं विद्वानों के बीच संबद्ध विषय पर विचारों का महत्वपूर्ण आदान-प्रदान होगा।

मैं इस आयोजन की सफलता की मंगलकामना करते हुए इस अधिवेशन में भाग लेने वाले सभी विद्वज्जनों एवं आयोजक वर्ग को अपनी हार्दिक शुभकामना देता हूँ।

बिन्धेश्वरी दुबे



सन्देश

यह जानकर प्रसन्नता हुई कि बिहार रिसर्च सोसाइटी, काशी प्रसाद जायसवाल शोध संस्थान एवं बिहार संस्कृत अकादमी, पटना के संयुक्त तत्वाधान में भारतीय मुद्रा परिषद् का 75 वाँ वार्षिक अधिवेशन आगामी 13 से 15 दिसम्बर, 1987 तक आयोजित होगा एवं इस अवसर पर एक स्मारिका प्रकाशित की जा रही है।

प्राचीन भारतीय इतिहास के तथ्योद्घाटन में मुद्रा-शास्त्र का महत्व सर्वविदित है। मैं आशा करता हूँ कि इस अधिवेशन से इस शास्त्र का आयाम-विस्तार होगा और कई नये तथ्य उद्घाटित होंगे।

मैं इस अधिवेशन की पूर्ण सफलता की कामना करता हूँ।

शुभकामनाओं के साथ,

लोकेश नाथ झा

मंत्री, शिक्षा एवं राजसभा विभाग, बिहार

सेवा में,

डॉ० पी० एन० ओझा,

निदेशक,

काशी प्रसाद जायसवाल शोध संस्थान,

पटना।

HIGH COURT
PATNA

November 17, 1987

I have great pleasure to know and congratulate the organisers for hosting the Platinum Jubilee (75th) Year session of the Numismatic Society of India, being held from 13th to 15th of December, 1987 under the joint auspices of the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, the Bihar Research Society and the Bihar Sanskrit Academy, Patna and bringing out a Souvenir on the occasion.

I wish the session all success :

B. P. Jha
Chief Justice.

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Patna, 13–15 December 1987

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GENERAL EDITOR'S NOTE

A Peep into Seventyfive Years of Bihar is in your hands. It has been published on the occasion of the Platinum Jubilee session of the Numismatic Society of India being held under the joint auspices of the Bihar Research Society, K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute and Bihar Sanskrit Academy, Patna from 13 to 15 December 1987. As such the Numismatic Society of India has provided us the rare opportunity to bring out a publication on Bihar that can give us the glimpses on different aspects of Bihar—social, political, cultural, economic etc.—representing the period of last seventyfive years. Through this Souvenir, we have tried to satisfy the intellectual curiosity and, at the same time, place on record such information which can help further assimilation of our knowledge. And, this souvenir has, therefore, been entitled as "A Peep into Seventyfive Years of Bihar".

We have tried to record the achievements of Bihar for the last seventyfive years in all its aspects. The articles contributed in this Souvenir are from the pen of the most reputed scholars of the State and as such I am grateful to them but for whose active cooperation this endeavour could not have been successful.

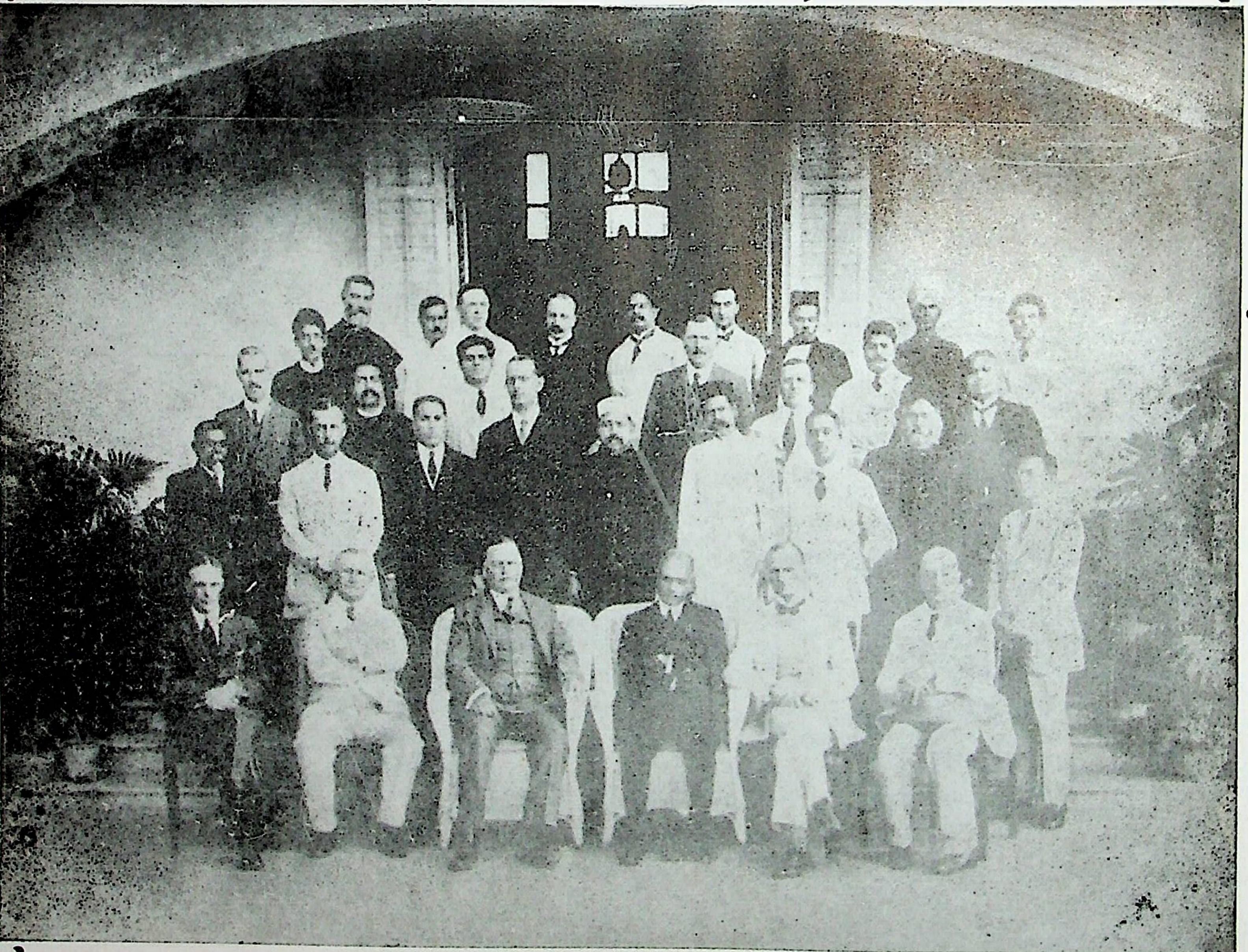
This occasion is important for more than one reasons since it synchronises with the celebration of the Platinum Jubilee Year of the State of Bihar (created in 1912). Our State is also celebrating the centenary celebrations of two great men of Bihar—Bihar Kesari Shri Babu and Bihar Bibhuti Anugrah Babu, the makers of modern Bihar in addition to the celebration of the 40th year of our Independence.

We hope, the articles included in this Souvenir will give fair ideas on the theme for which it has been published.

I shall be failing in my duty if I do not express my sincere thanks to the members on the staff of host institutions in general and to the editor and members of the Editorial Board in particular who have taken immense interest in bringing out this souvenir in a befitting way.

P. N. Ojha

13 December 1987



Founders of the Bihar (& Orissa) Rese... Soc...
Photographs taken on 20 January 1915 at the ti...



Sir Charles S. Bayley, K. C. S. I., I. S. O., Lt. Governor of Bihar & Orissa
Patron of the Bihar & Orissa Research Society



Sir E. A. Gait, C. S. I., C. I. E., I. C. S.
One of the Founders of the Society

Visitors Book opinion

Today, Sunday, 11 February 1979, at 4.30 p.m. His Holiness the Dalai Lama paid a visit to Bihar Research Society.

I hope that the manuscripts brought from Tibet by Rahul Samkrityayana will be properly utilized and thus made beneficial.

THE DALAI LAMA

11-2-79

28/2/79 [illegible] 11, [illegible]

Visit to the B. R. Society by His Holiness the Dalai Lama on February 11, 1979



Dr. S. V. Sohoni, M. A., I. C. S. (Retd.), Vidyāvācaspati
(b. May 19, 1914)
Vice-Patron of the Bihar Research Society



Pt. Lakshmī Kānta Jhā (b. 2 June, 1891—d. 13 March, 1978)
An authority on Hindu Law and the last chain of Law Givers of Mithila
Former President and Vice-Patron of the Bihar Research Society



Hon'ble Mr. Justice S. K. Jha
President, Bihar Research Society

Host Institutions

BIHAR RESEARCH SOCIETY, PATNA[1]

On 20th January, 1915 this august society was established under the chairmanship of the Lieutenant Governor of Bihar and Orissa, His Excellency Sir Charles S. Bayley, K. C. S. I. S. O. with a view to promote research in the province, which was newly formed.

Speaking on that occasion Mr. (later Sir) Edward Gait had observed :

> "Several centuries before the Christian Era, Patna was the capital of an extensive empire. But in spite of its antiquity the province boasts of few historical records and our knowledge of the past has to be laboriously placed together from various sources of information, such as references in religious books, inscriptions on rocks, stones and coins and the excavation of ancient sites. A few great deal has already been by individuals, but the field is too great to be covered by an individul, however, learned and energetic he may be. In order that the best result may be obtained, it is necessary to undertake organised research under the auspices of the society, which will not only ensure steady and sustained effort but will also assure the interest and stimulate the energies of any one who may be able to contribute to our knowledge and which will in its Journal provide means of recording all the information that may be collected."

This attempt may be said to be in continuation of the idea which led to the establishment of Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal on January

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1. The Jourual of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. I, pp. 134-145.

15, 1784 through the noble efforts of men like Sir William Jones. It may be recalled that in 1884, the centenary year of Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal there was an effort to establish in Patna, a Bihar Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, but ultimately the proposal was dropped. The idea, however, persisted and came to the forefront when in 1912 Bihar and Orissa were separated from the province of Bengal and constituted as a provincial unit. Popular enthusiasm for having an independent status in every sphere was largely responsible for creating this Society which came to be known as the Bihar and Orissa Research Society. After the separation of Orissa from Bihar this Society came to be known as the Bihar Research Society. Ever since the establishment of the Society, it has been its privilege to be working under the patronship of Governor of the State. The Patna Museum and other such institutes of the State which are devoted to the higher learning and research in Indology and Oriental Studies owe their establishment and existence to the Bihar Research Society.

2. The main objects of the Society are to promote research in the Province of Bihar and outside and to record the results of such researches in its journals. The main branches of the Society's work are History, Archaeology, Numismatics, Philosophy, Philology, Anthropology and Folklore—in short all branches of Indology, past, present and future.

3. The Society's library consists of two branches (1) printed book section and (2) Tibetan Manuscript section. The printed book section contains more than 20,000 rare research books and journals. Tibetan Section of the library which is a rare treasure contains (i) complete texts of (i) Kanjur, (ii) Ţanjur and (iii) 1619 miscellaneous texts on different topics viz. History, Biography, Reports, Philosophy, Jyotish and Biographies of the Indian and Tibetan Monks, many of them who were closely associated with the ancient Nalanda and Vikramashila Universities. The entire credit goes to late lamented Rahul Sankrityayan whose benificent attitude made these rare manuscripts available to the Society. Over and above these, the library has some Persian, Arabic and Sanskrit texts.

4. The Research Society publishes two research journals (i) the Journal of the Bihar Research Society (Formerly the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society) since 1915. (ii) The Indian Numismatic Chronicle, which deals with Indian Numismatics since 1960. The Journal of the Bihar Research Society is quarterly research Journal which has already achieved international reputation in the field of Indology.

5. The Society has proposed to the State Govt. to develop its library as an Indological Library in the State Capital. The State Govt. has earmarked Rs. thirty lakhs in the Seventh Five Year Plan out of which Rs. 8 lakhs have already been sanctioned and kept in the Sanskrit Shiksha Board—alas ! dealing in the primary Sanskrit education. It has not yet been given to the Society for which it is praying for the last two years.

The Society has been privileged to flourish under the dynamic guidance of the late C. S. Bailey, Edward A. Gait, Maharaja Rameshwara Singh, E. H. C. Walsh, H. L. Meswrier, E. V. Levinge, C. E. A. W. Oldham, H. McPherson, J. G. Jennings, Maharaja Rameshwara Prasad Singh, Raja Rajendra Narain Bhanj, Nawab Saiyid Imdad Imam, Nawab Saiyid Nasiruddin Ahmad Khan Bahadur, Sayid Fakhruddin, Muhammad Nur, Babu Dwarka Nath, D. B. Spooner, V. H. Jackson, W. O. Smith, Sachchidanand Sinha, S. Ross Masood, K. P. Jayaswal, Pandit Ramavatar Sharma, Prof. Jadunath Sarkar, J. N. Samaddar, A. Bannerjee Shastri, Mahapandit Rahula Sankrityayana, Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Jha, Dr. S. V. Sohoni and other stalwarts in the field of Indological and oriental studies.

Above mentioned manuscripts have been lying in the Society for over 50 years. They are well preserved and utilised.

The inability of the Society to publish the scriptures have caused flutter among some powerful institutions of India and abroad sometime back and institutions of abroad had approached the Society for permission to microfilm the manuscript at its own cost. The library of Tibetan Works and Archives, Dharmashala, Himachal Pradesh and the Tibetan House, New Delhi had also approached the Society to take away the manuscripts for microfilming and publication on behalf of their own institutions,

But the Society could take firm decision not to oblige them and instead took up the publications of the xylographs. And now both the Central and State Governments have taken interest for getting them printed. As a result the Society has taken up the scheme to publish the Tibetan xylograph with the financial assistance from the Government of India.

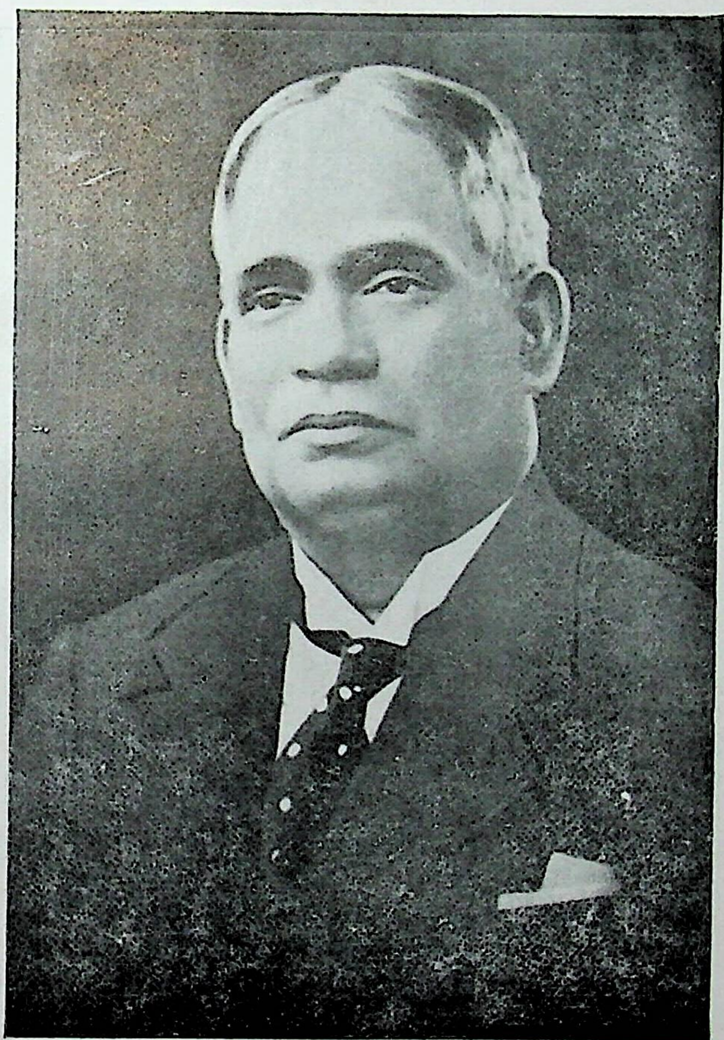
It is managed by a Council of intellectuals drawn from different walks of life. Council of the Society is taking sincere steps to salvage the Tibetan manuscripts which contain unknown facts of ancient Bihar and restore the pristine glory of the Society established on the line of Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland and Asiatic Society of Bengal. At present the Executive Council of the Society is headed by Hon'ble Mr. Justice S. K. Jha with Prof. P. N. Ojha as its Honorary General Secretary. The Society has been able to maintain its international reputation despite paucity of funds.

KASHI PRASAD JAYASWAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE[2]

This Institute had been established in the memory of the great Indologist of this country who brought to light many dark spots of history by his extensive researches. The aim of the Institute is to promote research work in Indian history of Bihar and also to take up excavation and exploration work. Initiative for the establishment of the Institute was taken in 1947. The Government of Bihar vide their resolution no. 4170/E dated the 30th September, 1947 were pleased to appoint committee with Acharya Badrinath Verma, the then Education Minister of Bihar, as Chairman to give effect to their proposal to start a Reseach Institute at Patna to encourage and promote researches in the field of of Indian History viz. Ancient, Medieval and Modern. It actually came into being in October, 1950 in Patna. The Executive Council of Bihar Research Society looked after the Institute for some years.

Late Dr. A. S. Altekar, the former Professor and Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Patna University was

2. Annual Reprt of the K. P. J. R. Institute, K. P. J. R. Introductory Glimpse by Sinha.



Dr. K. P. Jayaswal
The Institute was established in his memory



Dr. A. S. Altekar
Founder Director of K. P. J. R. Institute



Padmasri Prof. (Dr.) S. H. Askari
(Former Director of the K. P. J. R. Institute)
K. P. Jayaswal Fellow



Professor (Dr.) P. N. Ojha
Present Director, K. P. J. R. Institute

appointed its Founder Director, who was an eminent scholar of international repute of his days. The Institute also gained the prestige of international repute in the field of Historical Research and publication under his able and learned leadership. He provided multi-dimensional activities in the field of History, Archaeology, Tibetology and Sanskrit. He encouraged Research Fellows to prepare papers for different historical organisations and academic bodies. The credit goes to late Dr. Altekar that the Institute took up excavation work at Kumhrar, Vaishali and Sonepur and explored a number of historic and prehistoric sites in different parts of the State. It was Dr. Altekar who launched valuable publications such as Comprehensive History of Bihar in six volumes, one of which is still in press. Dr. Altekar continued as its Director till his death in May 1960. It is also significant that he was engaged at the last moment of his life in this academic work. It may be known when he died, he had been typing the Presidential Address of All India History Congress.

After the demise of Dr. Altekar late Dr. K. K. Datta become the Director of the Institute in 1960. He had been associated with the Institute since its inception in 1952 as Honorary Joint Director. He very much enriched the activities of the Institute. On the 28th Feb. 1962 he was honoured by the Vice-Chancellorship of the newly created Magadh University and so he relinquished the post of directorship of the Institute. On the same day Professor S. H. Askari joined the Institute as its Honorary Joint Director. He continued till May 1968. Dr. B. P. Sinha, Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, Patna University succeeded Prof. S. H. Askari. He continued on the post from 1969 to 1971. Dr. A. L. Thakur retired in 1976 and Dr. Jata Shankar Jha the seniormost Research Fellow of the Institute succeeded Dr. Thakur. He continued as its Director till 29th February 1984.

Dr. P. N. Ojha the seniormost Professor and also the Director of Higher Education of Bihar has taken over the charge of the Directorship of the Institute with effect from 1st March 1984. He is not a fulltime Director of the Institute but he has launched various projects in the Institute. Such as (i) History of Political Institutions in Bihar (ii) Socio-

Economic History of Bihar (iii) Districtwise Freedom Fighters' History of Bihar. Dr. Ojha has also started a monthly lecture series in the memory of great historian Dr. A. S. Altekar and Dr. K. K. Datta. Both had been associated with the Institute since its birth, eleven lectures have been delivered by different scholars in different historical fields, another achievement of Dr. Ojha's regime is the publication of research oriented book entitled "Hundred Years of Indian National Congress in Bihar : 1885-1985" on the occasion of the Congress centenary celebration and it had got a grand reception from both the scholars and general public. With Prof. Ojha at the helm of affairs of the Institute, it seems, the old glorious day of Altekar have returned to the Institute again.

The Institute is celebrating its annual function in the memory of Late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal as a K. P. Jayaswal Memorial Lecture. It had been started since 1981. Late Dr. D. C. Sarkar, Dr. Sayed Hasan Askari, Dr. Jata Shankar Jha, Dr. B. P. Sinha, Dr. Mahesh Tiwari have been honoured by the Institute on the occasion of K. P. Jayaswal Memorial Lecture.

The institute has also got a research Journal known as *Prajna Bharati*. The Journal is being published since 1981. There are rare manuscripts of Sanskrit in possession of the Institute. Some of them are published and some are in the process of publication. Late Mahapandita Rahula Sankrityayana had brought a bundle of manuscripts which are preserved in Bihar Research Society. It was also placed at its disposal for study, editing and publication. Institute has gained international fame by publishing these manuscripts. Specially the Buddhist world is very much attracted by the publication of these manuscripts Shri Jagdishwar Pandey, Research Fellow-cum-Assistant Director of the Institute has devoted his life in editing these manuscripts. There are many outstanding publications of this Institute.

The K. P. Jayaswal Chair has been established by the Govt. of Bihar and Padmasri Prof. (Dr.) S. H. Askari was appointed on this post recently.

The Institute has a well equipped library. The rare manuscripts are also preserved in the library. The following manuscripts deserve special mention :— The oldest manuscript is dated back to 14th century A. D., is a palm-leaf manuscript of Brahmayama tatantroa (No. 70), another important Palm-leaf MS. Harbhaktidipika composed by Ganesh Mishra in 1644 A. D. It deals with the Vaishnava religion and ritualism. Sudha-Vyakhya on Kumarasambhava of Kalidas composed by Mithila Pandit Raghupati Mishra. Saundaryalaharitika composed by Rambhadra Mishra on hand-made paper in 1577 A. D., is also an important manuscript preserved in the Institute. The commentary is complete. Perhaps no other copy of this manuscript has been discovered so far.

Hence it may be said that the K. P. J. R. Institute is one of the best institutes in Bihar in every respect. If necessary facilities may be available, it can attain the highest pinnacle of glory.

BIHAR SANSKRIT ACADEMY[3]

Recently in the last week of February 1987 the State Government has established the Sanskrit Akadami under the chairmanship of Prof. P. N. Ojha and it has started working in right earnest. This Academy has, during its short stan of existence, built up a very good reference library of books, journals, dictionaries etc. pertaining to Sanskrit language and literature. Besides, a research journal entitled Bharati is being published from the Sanskrit Academy. It has also established a rapport with the different Sanskrit academies and institutions working in India and abroad. Prof. Ojha has also drafted some eminent scholars of Sanskrit for achieving the objectives within shortest possible time for which this acedemy was established.

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3. A Report submitted by Chaudhary, Bijay Kumar, unpublished.

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The Separation of Bihar from Bengal

PROF. SITARAM SINGH

Once the birth place of protestant movements against the ritual-ridder Vedic religion; the seat of mighty empires—the Nandas, the Mauryas and the Guptas; the home of great universities—the Nalanda and the Vikramshila; Bihar was in decline with the advent of the British rule. Even though socially, culturally and linguistically linked up with the Hindi heart-land of India, administratively it was an appendage of Bengal proper in the Bengal Presidency. Naturally, it had for quite some time no advantage of the birth of even a colonial middle class which could have carried forth the torch of New Learning as was the case in Bengal, Bombay or Madras. While Bengal had the Young Bengal Movement, the Brahmo Samaj and several related awakenings, Bombay had the new pulsations of life, and so had Madras and other regions; Bihar had no such thing to boast of until the middle of the nineteenth century.

There was apathy towards the progress of English education in Bihar, and the office for promotion of English education at Patna was known as '*Shaitan Ka dafter*' (office of the Devil). It was only after 1859 that Zilla Schools were established at Patna, Arrah and Chapra and the Hill School was established at Bhagalpur. In 1863, the districts of Deoghar, Motihari, Hazaribagh and Chaibasa got one school each. The Zilla schools opened by the Government, to begin with, were not popular, because the people were apathetic and social prejudices and misgivings stood in the way. No wonder that attempts to establish a college at Patna had failed twice during the first half of the nineteenth century.

In the years following the Revolt of 1857, some public interest in education began to develop and Patna college was founded with five

students only in 1863. At the outset, it is significant to note, the college had an insignificant number of Bihari students, and it was only by 1899 that there were 216 Biharis as against 85 Bengalis among the students. The second college in Bihar, the T. N. J. College, Bhagalpur was affiliated as a second grade college in 1887 and as a first grade college in 1890. The third college, B. N. College was affiliated as a second grade college in 1889 and as a first grade college in 1892. The Bhumihar Brahman College at Muzaffarpur was opened in July 1899 and it was raised to the degree standard in 1900. But this time were also established St. Columba's College at Hazaribagh by the Dublin Mission, the D. J. College Monghyr (a second grade college) and Nalanda College, Bihar Sharif, a second grade college. Thus Bihar came to have some educational centres only by the end of the nineteenth century. The rebellious Bihar Zamindars and their loyal subjects had felt the heavy weight of the British elite had made for the stagnant political life of Bihar.

It was, however, during this period that the Scientific Society of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan had opened its branches in the province and a number of journals began to be published here, making the voice of the people felt, to some extent, in other corners of the country as well as in the high seats of power. Another significant development during the period was the attempt of the Government to drive a wedge between the Bengalis and the Biharis.

The Biharis being backward in education, the Bengalis were prominent in all walks of life in Bihar. They would champion all protesting in Bihar. It was Guru Prasad Sen, a domiciled Bengali and an advocate at Patna, who brought out the first English newspaper, the *Behar Herald*, in Bihar in 1875. The tone of the paper was often against the Government which could not be indifferent to all these developments. The growing influence of the educated Bengalis became a matter of great concern to it.

So the Government tried to combat the Bengali influence by various means. Though the Bengalis weilded much political influence in Bihar, owing to their exclusiveness they could not be the natural leaders

of Bihar. So their influence could be easily curtailed. It was proposed that the degree classes should be removed from Patna College to purge the Bengali influence. It was on the representation of the Biharis, Hurbans Sahai from Arrah and some others, that the scheme did not materialise. Another scheme of the Government was to force the question of the employment of Biharis in Bihar and they succeeded in their game which finally led to the separation of Bihar from Bengal which brought much bitterness in its trail. Jurking, the then Commissioner of Patna in his annual report on education in 1870-71 observed that Biharis were not making progress in education owing to their exclusion from services even in their own province. "Of late years it has become the practice in all district offices to appoint Bengalees as judges and deputy magistrates in local courts. What effect this entire supression of their own countrymen must have produced on the people of Bihar, it is not difficult to conceive", Jenkins observed. He pleaded for reservation of certain number of seats in the subordinate judicial and executive services for the Biharis. He advocated this scheme, even if it meant some administrative deficiency, on the ground of political expediency. In the name of increasing employment for Biharis, the Bihari-Bengali feeling was whipped up in which the Anglo-Indian press played an important role because of its animosity towards the Bengali middle class. Naturally some of the Bihari newspapers also adopted an anti-Bengali tone. The *Murgh-i-Saleman* of Monghyr (7 February, 1876), for example gave the call 'Bihar for the Biharis', in the context of large employment of educated Biharis. Similarly, the Qasid, another Urdu paper of Bihar, condemned the union of Bengal and Bihar as deterimental to the interest of Bihar (22 January, 1877).

Thereafter followed a period of petition and counter-petition by Biharis and domiciled Bengalis to the Government, each side pleading for its own separate interests. Now there was no joint memorial to the Government for the redresal of common grievances. The Government by clever manipulation kept the question open. This state of uncertainity only helped the situation to deteriorate until the last decade of the 19th century when a band of educated Biharis came forward to advance their

claim for the proper representation of Biharis not only in Provincial Judicial and Executive Services, but also in the Provincial Legislative Council and the Senate of the Calcutta University. They even demanded a seat on the bench of the Calcutta High Court for qualified lawyers from Bihar. The most prominent among the Bihari agitators were—Mahesh Narayan, Sachchidanand Sinha, Krishna Sahaya, Parmeshwar Lal, Nand Kishore Lal, Ali Imam and Mazharul Haque.

The domiciled Bengalis had their own social, religious and cultural organisations all over Bihar. The Bengalis were now apprehensive of their opportunities, of appointment being diminished. Now there was a chance of growing struggle for existence in the towns of Bihar.

There was also a new factor by this time in the social life of Bihar. At this time we have the rise of caste organisations in India with their branches in this province also. In 1887, the All India Chitraguptavamshiya Kayastha Mahasabha came into existence with which the Kayasthas of the Hindi-speaking areas came to be associated. Thus Bihar, still a part of Bengal Presidency, administratively and politically, came to be associated socially and culturally with other Hindi speaking areas. It was not an accident that Sachchidanand Sinha, the editor of the *Kayastha Samachar* at Allahabad, came to be associated with the movement for the separation of Bihar from Bengal. He collaborated with Mahesh Narayan who had played an important role in the awakening of public opinion in Bihar and started in 1896 the *Bihar Times* to champion the cause of Bihar as against the propaganda of the *Bihar Herald* which was the mouthpiece of the domiciled Bengalis in this province. At a time when the Bengali educated middle class was agitating for constitutional reforms and the extremist wing was resorting to direct action, and even appealing to the cult of the bomb, the nascent educated Bihari middle class was significantly reticent, loyal and trying to win the favours of the British masters. It was not unexpected that when the partition of Bengal drove its patriots to the pitch of passionate protest and indignation, and did not leave nationalists untouched and unaffected in other parts of the country, the adjoining province of Bihar, being

tertius gaudens, showed little excitement at the event in terms of any ptotest.

In 1901, Sachchidanand Sinha shifted the *Kayastha Samachar* from Allahabad to Patna and rechristened it as the *Kayastha Samachar* and *Hindustan Review*. The movement for the separation of Bihar from Bengal gathered momentum and it was advanced as the only alternative to the partition of Bengal, the plea being that it was only thus that the entire Bengali speaking population could be kept together and the administration could also be relieved of some of its burdens and tightened up.

It was during the period of this agitation for the separation of Bihar from Bengal that public life worth the name came into existence in this province. The political awakening was first represented by the Bihari Students Conference, held at Patna under the presidentship of Shirfuddin in 1906. The annual conferences of this body were held subsequently in different parts of the province during *Dushara.* These used to be presided over by well-known men such as Hasan Imam, Sachchidanand Sinha, Parmeshwar Lal, Dip Narayan Sinha, Brajkishore Prasad, Annie Besant, Sarojini Naidu, Mahatma Gandhi and C. F. Andrews. Bihar so far, had been only casually represented at the Indian National Congress, and only a handful of persons were connected with it, these too being mostly lawyers. A Bihar Provincial Congress Committee separate from that of Bengal came into being only in 1908. The first session of the Bihar Provincial Conference met at Patna early in 1908 with Sir Ali Imam as its President.

Thus Bihar was coming to its own. As has been pointed out earlier, the Kayasthas together with the Muslims were spearheading this movement for the separation of Bihar from Bengal. The Government itself helped the holding of the third session of the All India Kayastha Conference at Bankipore on 5 and 6 November, 1889. Boswell, the Commissioner, Patna, Finder, District Magistrate, Cowley, Superintendent of Police and the Municipal Commissioners of Patna as well as the Inspector-General of Police, Bengal, all helped to make it a success,

Ewbank, the Principal of Patna College, closed the college and collegiate school to enable Kayastha students to attend the Conference.

Within a decade local Sabhas were set up in most of the towns. The Bihar Provincial Sabha was established at Bankipore. A Kayastha Pathshala was established there and steps were taken to set up a Boarding House at a considerable cost. The Bihar Provincial Kayastha Sabha had a substantial means of income. A Kayastha Trading Company was established at Arrah with a view to encouraging the community to take to commercial and other professions. It was primarily a social movement, but gradually the social aspect of the movement receded into the background.

Since the movement had helped them to act as an organised community, they began to make their influence felt on local politics. The anti-Bengal attitude of the government in Bihar was taken advantage of. Till 1893 the movement was for all practical purposes confined to four persons—Mahesh Narayan, Nand Kishore Lal, Krishna Sahai, Sachchidanand Sinha (all Kayasthas).

As remarked earlier, *The Bihar Times* (Editor Mahesh Narayan, the founder editor of the Kayastha Gazette also), was the mouthpiece of the interests of Biharis. It propagated the cause of Bihar in a forceful language and blamed its backwardness on the Bengalis. The only remedy for all the ills of Bihar was its separation of Bengal. This was a great affront to the domiciled Bengalis in Bihar who could not take it lying down. They had already their organ *The Behar Herald* under the able editorship of Guru Prasad Sen, an able advocate and a known public men. Sen was backed not only by the Bengali community in Bihar and Bengal, but also by the powerful Calcutta Press. They strongly opposed the move of separation of Bihar from Bengal. But inspite of stiff opposition, the movement for separation gained momentum during the days of partition of Bengal. Other sections of Biharis, particularly the Muslims, also joined hands with the Kayasthas and the movement for separation of Bihar became formidable. The growth of Muslim communalism after the foundation of Muslim League in 1906 and communal representation under

the Morley-Minto Reform alarmed some Bihar Hindus, prominent among them were the Kayastha, In 1911 was formed the Bihar Hindu Sabha to protect the interests of the Hindus. So the Muslim enthusiasm cooled down. But by now the new province of Bihar was a settled fact. The creation of the new province of Bihar was announced at the Delhi Durbar and the province came into existence in 1912.

A new chapter now opened in the history of Bihar. The session of the Indian National Congress for the first time took place in Bihar at Bankipur in 1912, the year when Bihar recovered its identity. Naturally the Kayasthas, who were in the fore-front of the agitation for the separation of Bihar from Bengal and who were the most educated and politically conscious caste in Bihar, were in a dominant position in Bihar politics at that time. They made a determined effort to have the same political influence in Bihar as the Bengali Hindus had in Bengal. The Kayasthas encountered stiff opposition in this attempt from the Muslim lawyers who wanted to share power. The history of Bihar henceforth is the story of this tussle for the sharing of political power between different sections of the Biharis.

Fomer Professar and Head
Department of History
Bihar University.

Bihar : The Socio-Cultural Scene

PROF. J. C. JHA

Geographically Bihar can be divided into three unequal parts : the Himalayan foothills, the Gangetic plain and the southern hilly region. The fertile land of North Bihar often suffers from the floods of the Kosi, Kamla, Gandak and other rivers dislocating normal social and cultural activities.[1] The rich forested terrains of the Chotanagpur plateau are rich in mineral resources and cultural folk tradition.

According to the census report of 1911 Bihar had a small urban population : only 3.4 percent of the total. The most urbanised division was Patna. The town of Patna had a population of more than 100,000. The highest percentage of the Hindus, Muslims, Christians and animists lived in Patna, Bhagalpur, Chotanagpur divisions and the princely states of Kharsawn and Saraikela respectively.[2] The population was broadly divided into (a) Indo-Aryan, (b) Muslim, (c) Christian and (d) Animist. In the first category came the Hindus subdivided into the largest group of Sanatanists and Brahma Samajists. There was a sprinkling of Sikhs, Jains and Buddhists. Tribal Bihar was dominated by tribes like the Mundas, the Oraons, and the Santals. In short, there was Munda-Oraon-Santal preponderance on the tribal cultural scene in Bihar. The scenario has not changed much in terms of the variety of people and culture.

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1. Montgomery Martin, *The History, Antiquities, Topograghy and Statistics of Eastern India*, Vol. IV, 1838, First Indian reprint, 1976, pp. 1-63.
2. L. S. S. O'Malley, *Census of India Report*, 1911, Vol. V, Bihar and Orissa, Part III, Calcutta, 1913, tables.

Bihar can be divided into several linguistic zones. Maithili is spoken in what was called in ancient times Mithla and later Tirhut.[1] This area is flanked by Nepal in the north and the rivers Kosi, Ganges, and Gandaki on other sides. Thus this language is spoken in the districts of Madhubani, Darbhanga, Saharsa and parts of Purnia, Katihar, Bhagalpur, Begusarai, Muzaffarpur and Sitamarhi. Bhojpuri language is spoken in the districts of Champaran, Saran, Rohtas and Shahabad. Magahi (Magadhi) is spoken in the districts of Patna, Gaya and Nalanda. The tribals in the Santhal Parganas speak Santhali and the Pahari—as have their own dialect. In the North and South Chotanagpur they speak Mundari, Ho, Santhali and other languages. The non-tribals in Chotanagpur speak Nagpuria and those in the Santhal Parganas Angika. The people of south Bhagalpur and Munger also speak Angika, a Ghanged form of Maithili. The people of the hills are usually sturdy people, funloving and carefree.

There is no distinct religious zone. In most of the villages or towns the Hindus and Muslims live side by side and have been influenced by the manners and customs of each other. The Muslims generally speak the regional language but in their social and cultural gatherings they use Urdu. The Hindus use their mother-tongue in day to day life, but in a public gathering, specially when the people of other linguistic groups are present, they use Hindi.

G. A. Grierson[2] called the languages of Bihar, Bihari and put them in the eastern group of Indo-Aryan family. Most of the dialects of Bihar are derived from Ardha-Magadhi and therefore it is not difficult to understand the language of different areas. Grierson has indicated three important sub-dialects in Bihar.

Culturally Mithila has been a region of glorious tradition and rich history. It was the land of eminent philosophers like Janak Videh,

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1. John Houlton, *Bihar—The Heart of India,* Bombay, 1949, p. 2.
   Also see P. L. Brass, *Language, Religion and Politics in Northern India,* Cambridge University Press, London, 1974, pp. 25, 55-61, 61-73 and 197.

2. G. A. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India,* Vol. V, P. 11.

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Yajnavalkya and Mandan Mishra.[1] The Maithils considered themselves superior to the Magadhans because Aryan culture came to North Bihar earlier. Here the Nyaya (Logic) and the Mimansa philosophies and later Navya-Nyay (New Logic) developed to great heights. It became a great centre of Sanskrit learning. Many treatises on different branches of literature, philosophy and political thought were developed in this region. The Brahmanical domination has left an indelible mark upon the whole population.[2] During the last one century Sanskrit has been relegated to the background and modern education has become more important.

Many Maithil Panditas migrated to Nepal, to the princely states of India as well as to the regions like Bengal, Assam and Central Provinces. They made a name for themselves in the fields of Hindu law, Tantra administration, etc. At Banaras[3] many of them won laurles through *shastrartha* (open debates) and teaching. They also made fortunes and their kith and kin back home lived comfortably. Common labourers have also been migrating every year. This has influenced the society and culture of Mithila in various ways.

Most of the manners and customs of Mithila have been shaped by the ritualistic practices relating to *samskaras* (sacraments).[4] Marriage[5] and *Shraddha* (ceremonies following death) are important occassion for get together and rituals in honour of the departed soul for all the Hindus but *Yajnopavita* (*Janeu* or sacred thread) ceremony is lavishly organised

1. U. Thakur, *History of Mithilla*, p. 1.
2. See Hari Mohan Jha, *Khattar Kakak Tarang* (in Maithili), Patna, 2nd edn, 1967.
3. Baladeva Upadhyay, *Kashi Kee Panditya Parampara* (in Hindi), Varansi, 1983, 557 ff. The famous secholars Mahamohapadhyaya Ganganath Jha and Amarnatha Jha and Umesh Mishra made their mark at the Allahabad University. See Chandranath Mishra Amar, Mahamahopadhyay Muralidhar Jha, Patna, 1980.
   Also, *Smarika Dr. Amarnath Jha Jayanti Samgrah*, Chetna Samiti, Patna, 1972.
4. See Baldeva Mishra, *Samaj* (in Maithili), Allahabad, fasli 1371.
5. Ramanath Jha, *Maithil Brahman Ki Panji Vyavastha*, Darbhanga n. d. The brahmanas and Karna Kayastha have geneological records preserved by their record keepers these are consulted at the time of settling a marriage.

by the twice-born (*dwija*) sections. The Chhathi ceremony, six days after the birth of a child and *barahi* twelve days after the birth, are common among all sections of people as in other parts of Bihar.

The Bhojpuri speaking people have been by and large fighting and adventurous people. They provided men to the English East India Company, later to the Crown's army and now to the Indian army. Besides thousands of them went to work in big cities like Calcutta and then to British colonies of the West Indies, Mauritius, Fiji,[1] etc. They preserved their culture abroad and some of those who returned brought money and wind of change to their own village. These two factors have influenced the society and culture of the area a good deal.

In the nineteenth century the people of Magadh were of war like disposition.[2] Pataliputra (Patna) was the capital of India during the Maurya and Gupta rule. Magadh had been intimately connected with Buddhism in ancient times. It had also been the cockpit for contending Muslim armies for a longtime. Patna happened to be capital of the Bihar province in the Turko-Afghan and Mughal periods and then in the British period. We find place names like Manersharif, Biharsharif, etc. considered sacred because of the tombs of some Sufi saints. The customs of the people have been greatly influenced by Hindu, Buddhist and Muslim traditions.

There are twenty-nine major and minor scheduled tribes in Bihar,[3] Ethinologically they belong to the proto-Austroloid group but linguistically they have little language affinities. The tribal languages belong to the Mundari and Dravidian families. They differ in their sounds, modes of indicating gender, in their method of indicating the relationship of a verb to its objects, in their numeral system and in their vocabularies.[4]

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1. L. S. S. O. Malley, *Bengal District Gazetteer : Shahabad*, 1907, p. 32.
2. Francis Buchanan, *An Account of the District of Bhagalpur & Patna in* 1811-12, Vol. I, p. 276.
3. N. Prasad, *Land and People of Tribal Bihar*, Preface.
4. Grierson, op. cit. Vol. V, Introduction, p. 2.

The Munda languages are spoken by the Santal (Santhali), the Munda, the Ho, the Kharia (kharia), the Birhor (Birhori) and others. There is some amount of good literature in the Santali language.[1]

In the the Dravidian group the Kurukh is spoken by the Orzon (Dhangar) in Chotanagpur and the Dhangar migrants in the Purnia and Saharsa district. The Malto language of the Maler is similar to the Kurukh.[2]

Caste is herediatry, endogamous, usually localised group, having a traditional association with an occupation, and a particular position in the local hierarchy of castes. Relations betweeen different castes are governed among other things by the concepts of pollution and purity. Generally maximum commensality occurs within a caste.[3]

Bihar has seen a number of caste organisations among the Hindus since the later part of the nineteenth century. The Kayastha Pathshala of Allahabad had its branches in Bihar. Later Bhumihars, Maithil, Brahmans, Rajputs, Koeris, Kurmis and others organised themselves for their upliftment. In the 1920s the Ahirs (Gwalas) started wearing sacred thread for getting a higher status. Other lower caste-groups also adopted the manners and customs of higher castes as also their surnames like 'Singh'. This process of Sanskritisation created much tension in the society, but today nobody bothers about such claims to higher castes.

Even today marriage in one's caste (*jati*), preferably in one's *upajati* is the norm. In spite of the prizes and other incentives given by the state government intercaste marriage is looked down upon. In the rural areas even intercaste dining is not approved, though in the urban areas and in the hotels and during a journey dining near people of other castes and communities is not denounced. A Sanskrit sloka says, '*Pathi Shudravada-charet*' (during a journey one can behave like a shudra). The processes

1. See Vidyanath Jha 'Vidit', *Maithili O Santhali*, Patna *Samwat* 2033.
2. L. P. Vidyarthi, *The Cultural Contours of Bihar*, p. 12.
3. M. N. Srinivas, *Caste in Modern India and other Essays*, 1962. p. 3.

of urbanisation, industrialisation and the different phases of Indian National Movement since Gandhi's Champaran Movement and some constitutional and legal provisions have after independence no doubt weakened the caste restrictions to some extent. However, during the elections to the panchayats, municipal corporations and provincial and central legislatures caste affiliations still play a major role.

The bulk of the Muslim population in Bihar belongs to the Sunni sect and follow the Hanifi school of law. The Shias are the followers of Ali, the fourth Caliph. They celebrate Moharram and take out *tazia* processions in which some Hindus also take part in the *gadka* (lathi) wielding.

Previously the tribals of Bihar, like their counterparts in other parts of India, were called animists. But all the tribals with the exception of the Paharias of the Rajmahal hills, believe in one supreme being who is the creator of the universe. He is known as Singbonga among the Mundas, Santals, Hos and the Birhors. The Kharias call Him Bhagawan and the Oraons call Him Dharmes. Below this all pervasive and benevolent power come the deities supposed to live in a cluster of trees in a village called *Sarna*[1] during certain festivals.

The Vaishnav influence and the impact of Hinduism in general and the pressure of Christian missionaries have changed the life of tribals. The emigration of tribals to the tea gardens of Assam, Duars near Sikkim and to the British colonies to work in plantations also changed the society and culture of these tribals. The Bhumij and other tribals and their chiefs have undergone the process of Sanskritisation or Rajputisation. Many of them took the surname Singh.[2] The Oraons took the title of *Bhagat (Bhakt)*.

The tribal movement like the Birsa Movement, the Sapha Hor (Kherwar) Movement, the Hari Baba Movement, etc, were largely influen-

1. Suresh Singh, *The Dust-Storm and the Hanging Mist*, Calcutta, 1966, pp. 80 & 171.
2. Recently the Bhumijes have demanded that their tribal status should be restored so that they might enjoy the privilege of reservation in jobs, etc.

ced by Hinduism. Some of these were in a way a reaction to the large-scale conversion of the tribals to Christianity. All these have changed the tribal society and culture. Gone are their exclusiveness and clinging to the forests and hills. New educated tribals are excelling as sportsmen, in executive jobs and in institutional politics.

Modern education has not covered even 30 percent of the society of Bihar. More than half of the population is illeterate. Naturally enough, there is a lot of disparity in the society. The educated people, especially the employed ones, live a better life. Those in business, even though uneducated or illiterate, live much more comfortably with television, video, radiogram, etc. in their house, often imitating western culture. This naturally creates tension among the have-nots.

Gone are the days when Darbhanga, Muzaffarpur, Gaya, Bhagalpur and Munger happened to be great centres of music.[1] There were famous wrestlers like Sukhadeva Jha and Mangal Gope.[2] A distinct school of painting had developed in Patna. But today only a Siyaram Tiwary, the famous dhrupad singer and Ramchatur Mallik can be placed at the all-India level and among the sportsmen Dong Dong and a few others can be counted on one's fingers.

The tribal society of Bihar does not have anything like the caste system. With population increase, migrations and clan dispersal, tribals evolved group totemism. Among the Birhor tribe strongly formed parrilineal totemism survives.[3] The aesthetic tribal way of life recalls the sensuous exuberance of Indian Classical culture more than does the way of life of the rural Hindus in Bihar. Not only on the occasion of festivals like 'Karam' but almost every evening the tribals, men and women, dance and sing in their villages in some areas. Among some tribes there is an institution called 'Dhamkuria' : eligible bachelors, boys and girls, mingle

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1. Shivapujan Sayay & H. M. Jha (ed.), *Ramalochan Sharan Jayanti Smarak Granth*, Darbhanga Samvat 1999, pp. 280-312.

2. Ibid., pp. 498-510.

3. K. Lennoy, *The Speaking Tree : A Study of Indian Culture and Society*, London Bombay, 1971, p. 177.

freely in the village dormitory. Among the Munda and the Ho tribes the 'Munda' is the village chief.[1] Manki is the chief of the Parha among the Mundas, in the Ranchi district while among the Hos the Manki presides over the 'Pir'. Among the Santals the village chief is called Manjhi and the chief of a cluster of villages Parganait[2]. The Pahn looks after the religious needs of the villagers among the Munda tribe. The Bhumijes had ghatwals, digwars, sadials, tabedars and above them sardar ghatwals in the 19th century.[3] But because of the Hinduisation of this tribe they have now lost their influence and land. Some tribes like the Mal Paharias still follow the jhoom (shifting cultivation), hunting and food gathering.

If the place names in the tribal areas are connected with tribal terms like 'hatu', 'piri', etc. in the plains areas we have Hindu names connected with the gods like Rampur, Krishna (Kishun) pur, Durgapur and Damodarpur. Many Muslim place names like Khushrupur, Hajipur, Muzaffarpur, etc. can be seen. Among the names of persons tribals have Barsa, Harma, Thimka, Ragda and such other names with surnames like Hembrom, Tudu, Kisku, Munda, Marandi, etc. Among the Hindu names connected with Gods and Goddesses are very popular. But Vishnu often becomes Bisun and Krishna Kishun or Kisoon. The surname Prasad, Kant or Raman added to a goddess's name can be a male name : Durga Prasad, Bimla (Vimla) Prasad, Kamla Prasad, Indirakant, Revati Raman and so on. The surnames 'Sharma', 'Singh' and 'Thakur' are very common. The name ending with the surname Dwivedi (Dubey) means one who has studied two Vedas and Chaturvedi (Chaube) is supposed to know four vedas. Among the Muslims, 'Uddin', 'Ullah', etc. are common. Some names are prefixed by 'Shaikh' or Muhammad. Names like Allauddin, Pir Ali etc. can be seen both in the urban and rural areas.

Vernacular journalism developed in Bihar in the second half of the 19th century. Later English newspapers like ***Beharee***, ***The Searchlight***

1. J. C. Jha, *The Tribal Revolt of Chotanagpur* (1831-32), Patna, 1987, p. 32.
2. H. Mepherson, Final Report on the Santhal Parganas Settlement, Calcutta, 1909, p. xxxiii.
3. J. C. Jha, *The Bhumij Revolt*, 1832-33, Delhi, 1967, p. 33.

and the *Indian Nation* had a great impact on the social and cultural life of Bihar. Maithili journals like *Mithila Mihir* and *Mithila Mod* also influenced the social life of Mithila in a big way.[1]

Bihar being a predominantly agricultural society[2] the life style of the majority of the people is different from those who are in service or in business. Hindu temples can be see in every village of the plains and in some villages in the hilly areas.[3] Many mosques and a few gurudwaras can also be seen.

The food habits differ from area to area. The Brahmans in the Bhojpuri and Magahi speaking areas are by and large vegetarians because of the influence of Vaishnavaism and their main deities are Rama and Krishna, the main incarnations of Vishnu. The Maithils relish *dahi* (yoghurt) and *chura* (flaked rice), while the Bhojpuris prefer *sattu* (ground gram). The conservative Brahman in the villages would not eat parboiled rice offered by a non Brahman but would accept gram parched by them or baked bread or anything fried in clarified butter by a lower caste person. There was a time when any cloth other than silk and jute could become impure by the touch of impure castes. Some older people even now follow such rules in spite of the prohibition of untouchability by the law.

Even now some Brahmans in the rural areas do not eat meat and eggs. But in the Mithilanchal meat is taken as *prasad* (offering) if the goat had been sacrificed before the goddess Durga or Kali, the malevolent forms of Shakti. Fish is generally taken by the Maithils. As many Maithils worship shakti there is a marked difference in their way of life from that of the people of other regions.

Some conservative Brahmans in the rural areas avoid taking onions, garlics, tamato, etc. Even Irish potato was avoided in the past

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1. Chandranath Mishra, 'Amar', *Maithili Patrakarita Ka Itihas* (in Maithili), Patna 1981, pp. 3-8.
2. K. K. Datta (ed.), *Comprehensive History of Bihar*, Vol. III, Part I, p. 490.
3. P. C. Roy Choudhaury, Temples and Legends of Bihar, Bombay, 1965. Also see D. R. Patil, *The Antiquarian Remains of Bihar*, Patna 1963.

because it had been brought by the foreigners. By that yardstick tobacco brought to India by the Portugaese should have been avoided, but surprisingly it is very common and even the priests and Sanskrit scholars and young college students chew it or take *zarda*, a preparation of tobacco along with betel and nuts. Beef and pork are taboo for Hindus.[1]

The concept of pollution and purity and restrictions on commensality exist among the lower castes also in the rural areas. The Mushahars would not generally accept food from Doms, Dusadhs, Chamars and Mehtars.[2] There are cultural differences too among the main groups of *jatis*. Men of the Brahman *jatis* are usually familiar with some of the main scriptural concepts or with the sacred Brahamanic traditions. They worship the benevolent aspects of Shakti also[3] like the goddess of wealth Lakshmi, specially during the festival of lights, *diwali* in the month of Kartik (around November). The lower castes, on the other hand, propitiate the spirits, godlings, like Sahales, Bhairav, etc. Some Hindus also worship at the *majar* (tombs) of Muslim saints. Hanuman (Mahavir) is one of the most popular Hindu Gods[4] and His temple is sometimes built in the middle or on the side of a road. The famous Hanuman Mandir near the Patna railway junction has recently been renovated and its dome raised to a higher point.

Among the Hindu festivals Ramanavami (birthday of Rama) around March, Krishnashtami (birthday of Krishna) around August, Dashahara (Vijayadashami) in honour of Goddess Durga around October, (Diwali) in honour of Goddesses Lakshmi and Kali and Shri Panchami in honour of Goddess Saraswati, the goddess of Learning, are the most popular. Besides these, Nagpanchami (worship of the snake goddess) around August, Raksha-Bandhan around the same time, Bhai-duj around

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1. R. R. Diwakar (ed.) *Bihar Through the Ages*, p. 689.
2. Grierson, *Bihar Peasant Life*, p. 254.
3. *Report on the Census of India : Bihar and Orissa*, 1921, Part I, p. 235.
4. William Crooke, *The Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, revised edn., Delhi, 1968, pp. 85-89 : Hanuman is supposed to protect from ghosts and spirits and the wrestlers specially invoke his blessings.

November are also celebrated. Chath, a typical Bihari festival in honour of God Surya is presently celebrated more lavishly than in the past.

During the Diwali festival the departed souls of ancestors who might have gone stray, are shown lighted candles and sticks towards the sky to get them on the right track. Similarly during the *Pitri-paksha* (fortnight) the ancestors are worshipped with oblations and a few Brahmans are fed. In Gaya a special *mela* is held for special *shraddha* during this fortnight.

Melas are also held during *Pusi Purnima* (full-moon day of the month of *Pus*) around December and *Maghi Purnima* (full-moon day of *Magh*) around January near river banks specially the rivers like the Ganga, Kosi and Mahananda. Fairs are also held during Dashahara, Diwali, Krishnashtami, etc.

Until recently the lower caste people had their own well-knit *panchayats* which decided cases regarding social offences. The tribals had their own *pachayats* which held *bitalaha* for social and moral offences specially among Santals.

Independence brought about many social and cultural changes. Universal franchise has made the lower caste people aware of the fact that they are not inferior to the upper castes. With reservations in admissions to the educational institutions and in the government jobs they are becoming more independent minded.

The abolition of Zamindari around 1950 and the passing of the Land Ceiling Act brought about a socio-cultural revolution. The wrestlers, singers, dancers and others who used to get patronage from the landed aristocracy became helpless for some time but then came the neo-rich class—politicians, businessmen and government supported contractors. They at times give patronage to the dancers and singers during marriage and other occasions, the All-India Radio's branches at Patna, Darbhanga, Ranchi and Bhagalpur also give the artistes some work. But the golden days of cultural activities such as poetry reciting or *mushaira*, wrestling bouts, *mujras*, singing concerts etc. are almost over. The neorich is more and more attracted towards five star or four star culture.

The cultural and social scenario in Bihar is rather confused at the moment. The old dress of *dhoti* and *Kurta* is gradually yielding place to trousers and bush shirt. Traditional head gear (*pagari* in the south, Gandhi cap for some and *pag* in Mithila) can only be seen at special occasions. *Mehdi* (henna), *gondana* (tatto marks), *Missi* in the teeth among the women has almost disappeared. Western cocacola culture is invading us. Young women in urban areas use lipstick and prefer light dresses, like Jeans, though *sari* is still most widely used. The dichotomy between the manners and norms of the rich and the poor is too marked. But at heart we are all traditionalists at home.

The conflict between tradition and modernity is common in Bihar except in the inaccessible areas of tribal areas. In spite of cultural variations the people of all castes and communities have a sense of belonging to the state and they are all facing the urbanisation, modernisation, industrialisation and other processes in the same way.

A large segment of the society in Bihar depends on grabbing the major portion of agricultural surplus. In spite of the law giving security to the sharecroppers the 'feudal' lords take away everything. Agricultural Income Tax realised by the State Government is just nominal. The social and cultural implications of this situation are great indeed. This situation is described as 'feudalism from below' by an eminent Indian Marxist historian.

It has been rightly pointed out that the utter lack of civil consciousness and "the roughness of social existence, the implicit and often explicit violence in mundane interactions, are evidence of Bihar's historical inexperience of coming to terms with power, self and even less the ethics of equality on any long-term sustained basis."[1] The Mahanthas, the landed magnates like those of the Purnia and Katihar districts who bypass the Land Ceiling Act are still at the apex of the social pyramid. At its base are almost half of the population, below the poverty line.

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1. A. N. Das, "The Culture of Despair : Bihar's Feudalism from Below", *Times of India*, Patna, 7 September, 1987, p. 6.

Fortunately these poorest of the poor have kept their folk culture alive. Thus in Mithilanchal they sing the *nachari* of the famous poet of the medieval period Vidyapati, invoking Lord Shiva to help them. During the *holi*, the festival of colour around February-March, they sing 'Jogira' 'Kabira' and dance with abandon, forgetting the distinction of the high and low for the moment and throwing *abir* and coloured water at anybody, rich or poor. The Bhojpuri and Magahi people also sing 'chautal' and take part in the holi revelry. All Biharis believe in 'Karma', the deed of the present and the past and dream of creating a new social order where there would be no exploitation. The peasant uprising of tribal areas in the past or the Naxalite movement in the Magahi speaking areas in recent years, have aimed at creating such an ideal social and culture milieu.

The folk songs like *barahmasa*, *biraha*, *chaita and samadaon* are often full of sorrow, touching one's heart and indicating their poor existence in the society. A Bhojpuri song 'Bidesia' underscores the pathos of the women folk whose men had emigrated to distant lands. Jhumar, Ulara and some other folksongs do have some elements of joy, but these only indicate the silverlining in the dark clouds,

After independence and especially after the Bihar Panchayat Raj Act was passed, village panchayats became more powerful than the caste panchayats. However, even now we hear off and on about certain lower castes organising their panchayats and to offer *Pujas* and decide social and even political matters.

The custom of taking and giving dowry during a Hindu marriage still prevails in spite of legal restraint on this matter. Arranged endogamous marriage is the norm. But sometimes the dowry problem leads to marital discord and torture of brides. Similarly, many people even now violate the law and get their daughter below 18 and the son below 21 married.

The custom of many marriages for *kulin* Maithil brahmans and the system of taking old men to Varanasi or to a river bank for *Kashi-labh* or *Ganga-labh* which led to so many tragedies in the North Bihar society before independence, has now almost vanished.

Communalism and communal riots are no longer so frequent in Bihar as during the 1920s. to the 1940s. But every Mahabir Jhanda procession or Moharram procession passes with anxiety in the society. During the Bakrid and Dashahara festivals also some tension does occur.

Superstitions are very common both among the Hindus and Muslims of Bihar. Since modern medicare is not available to more than 70 percent of the population they often go to witch doctors (*Ojha-Guni*) and others. The tribals have their own *Sokhas* or sorcerers.

The society of Bihar is rather backward, and its ancient culture is passing through a stage of transformation. Emigration to the towns and in the recent years to the Punjab, Haryana and some foreign countries has some impact on the society. The Indian and non-Indian cinema has also influenced the new generation of Bihar. The inspiration for new hair styles, modern dress, mannerisms and even crime often come from this medium. No wonder we find so many 'angry young men', in our society today, disturbing cultural functions and showing disrespect to the elders, teachers[2] and the law enforcing machinery.

These developments have influenced the Biharis of all the areas, but the influence is more pronounced in the urban areas. The respect for the *atithi*, guests who come unannounced[3], the cohesion of a joint family, the traditional warmth among the neighbours, all these are gradually disappearing and there is a certain restlessness in the youth.

Professor and Head
Department of History
Patna University.

1. *Bihar and Orissa in* 1924–25, Patna, 1926, p. 4; *Bihar and Orissa in* 1931–32, Patna, 1933, p. 16.
2. Formerly the teacher was called 'gurudeva' to be respected as a god.
3. Formerly the villagers considered such a guest a god (*atithideva*). Now they often chase him away.

Progress of English Education in Bihar from 1912 to 1987

PROF. PADMESH PATHAK

The English Education and western ideas formed the foundation of modernization in British India.[1] The progress of English education in India was largely due to variety of factors, viz., political, social, religious, administrative, and economic. Prof. K. K. Datta writes, that, 'under the influence of various factors, exotic as well as indigenous there have been revolutionary changes in education, culture, and different aspects of social life in modern India.[2] The one single Indian, who deserves the highest tribute in bringing English education for the people of India is Raja Ram Mohan Roy. Raja protested against the British Government's proposal to strengthen the indigenous Sanskrit and Persian education and wrote to Lord Amherest in 1823, "the Sanskrit system of education would be the best calculated steps to keep the country in darkness, if such has been the policy of the Government." The protest of Raja Ram Mohan Roy did not go unheeded. The Government, thereby, went step by step to encourage the study of English as well as oriental languages.[3] The controversy raised by orientalists led by H. T. Prinsep and Anglicists, was resolved through Lord Macaulay's famous Minute on Educational Policy, dated 2 Feb., 1835.[4] Lord William Bentinck in Resolution of

1. The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. X, British Paramountcy and Indian Renaissance, Bhartiya Vidya Bhavan, Ed., first pub. in 1965, p. 31.
2. K. K. Datta, A Social History of Modern India, (Macmillan Co. of India, New Delhi, 1975), Preface VII.
3. Mr. Shore, the Judge of Fatehgarh (Modern U. P.) in 1834 said, 'at present few, if any, would learn English as long as it leads to no office or emolument.'
4. Macauly's intention was to prepare band of clerks for Government Offices through his educational Minutes, is well known.

7 March, 1835 accepted Macaulay's Minute, and declared that, in future the object of the Government should be the promotion of European literature and sciences, through the medium of English language and in future all funds were to be spent for that purpose.

For achieving the above objective the British Government (including the Company's rule) from time to time constituted various Educational Commissions to make improvement upon English education in this country. They are the following: Sir Charles Wood Despatch on Education 1854, which is considered as 'the Magna Carta of English Education'. Hunter Education Commission, 1882-83. The Indian Universities Act 1904, 'another land mark in the progress of English Education'. The Government Resolution on Educational Policy; 21 Feb., 1913. The Sadler University Commission, 1917-18. The Hartog Committee, 1929. Wardha Scheme of Basic Education.[5] Sargent Plan of Education 1944. And Radhakrishnan Commission, 1944-49.

In Independent India on the recommendation of Radhakrishnan Commission, the University Grants Commission was constituted in 1953 and it was given an autonomous statutory status by the Government of India by an Act of Parliament in 1956. The Government of India in 1964 constituted Kothari Education Commission, and, it finally recommended: (i) free and compulsory education upto the age of 14; (ii) improved status and emoluments of teachers; (iii) adoption of three language formula; and the development of regional languages; (iv) equalization of education of science and research; (v) the development of education for agriculture and industry; (vi) improvement of quality and production of text books; and (vii) investment of 6% of national income on education. The states under Indian Union went to follow the line and policy chalked out by the National Government on the basis of Kothari Commission recommendations. The mass education and adult education under 20 Point Programme got priority during the august leadership of Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi. A new national policy on education is being adopted after national

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5. Introduced by Mahatma Gandhi and Dr. Zakir Hussain and framed after 1935, but not implemented.

debates, as envisaged by our young and dynamic Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi.

The Progress of English Education in Bihar

In the State of Bihar the progress of English Education before and since its formation in 1912 continues even to-day. The sphere of English education broadly touched secondary and university levels, except some arrangements made in English-Vernacular middle schools before independence For convinience, I have divided the topic—the progress of English Education (i) under the British rule & (ii) since Independence.

(i) Under the British Rule

ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION :

For the proper growth and development of English Education in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, the English Government introduced a new administrative machinery. The Department of Public Instruction was first created in 1855 with a Director of Public Instruction (D. P. I.) as its head, assisted by staffs like Inspector, sub-Inspector etc.[6] The Commissioners of Revenue Divisions (then two in Bihar—Patna and Bhagalpur) and Magistrate Collector of the districts were vested with the control of educational administration, within their respective areas.[7] The jurisdiction for Inspector of Schools covered wide areas and he had been vested with wide powers over educational administration including inspections of all Government and Aided High Schools of his division.[8]

After the separation of Bihar and Orissa from Bengal in 1912, Mr. Hallward was appointed as the first D. P. I.[9] Due to the growing

6. Bhagavati Sahay, History of Education in Bihar under British Rule (Bhagalpur, United Press Ltd., 15th July, 1958), p. 59. The first D. P. I. was Mr. W. Gordon Young appointed on 29 Jan., 1855. The first Inspector of Bihar was Mr. A. S. Harrison.

7. Ibid., pp. 59-60.

8. N. K. Jha, Administrative History of Bihar (1912-1919) a Ph. D. thesis submitted to Bhagalpur University (May, 1978, unpublished), p. 289.

9. Report on the Progress of Education in Bihar and Orissa, 1912-13, (Patna, Printed at Bihar and Orissa Government Press, 1914), p. 2.

volume of work A. D. P. I. was also appointed in 1903[10] and some temporary posts for educational officers in Provincial Educational Service were also created in 1915.[11] For the supervision of female education a post of Inspectoress of School was also created in 1904 in Bengal and with separation of Bihar and Orissa in 1912 one such post was created for whole of Bihar.[12] In 1913 Assistant Inspectors of School was appointed for Tirhut and in 1915[13] one Inspectoress of School was appointed for Ranchi and Orissa, with the head-quarters at Ranchi.[14] The above arrangement continued till 1947.

ENGLISH EDUCATION IN MIDDLE AND HIGH SCOOLS

Eurasian and Indian teachers, who had picked up a little English set up schools for teaching English, or were intertained in the families to teach English in office or in trade.[15] In 1816 Calcutta Book Society was established to prepare books for the Schools and in 1819 decided to establish English-Vernacular schools all over the country. But in Bihar it did not open any such school. The English education in Bihar was first done by the enlightened private individuals. The influx of English educated Bengalis in Bihar prepared the ground for English education in this State.[16]

The Government, scheme for English and vernacular education was devised in 1835 and 1844.[17] In Bihar the educational circle was established one at Bhagalpur and another in Bihar. Under this scheme a central college with the Zila School (at district headquarters) was to be

10. Ibid, 1913-14, pp. 2, 3.
11. Ibid, 1915-16, p. 3.
12. Proceedings of the Legislative Council Bihar and Orissa, August, 1913, p. 5.
13. Report on the Administration of Bihar and Orissa 1912-13, p. XXI.
14. Ibid, 1914-15, p. 2.
15. Bhagavati Sahay, op. cit., p. 12.
16. Ibid., p. 13.
17. Ibid., p. 25.

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established in the circle.[18] Consequently Zila Schools at Patna, Arrah, Chapra, Bhagalpur (Hill schools) and thereafter, at Deoghar (later shifted to Dumka), Motihari, Purnea, Hazaribagh and Chaibasa were also opened.[19] One school as Bhagalpur Institution and C. M. S. Institution (aided school) imparted English education. The medium of instruction in High School was English but the English was not imposed by the British Government.[20]

After the creation of the Province of Bihar in 1912 the English education progressed considerably. This can be well understood by the table[21] given below :

Table No. 1

Class of schools	1912-13		1925-26		Increase	
	No. of schools	No. of pupils	No. of schools	No. of pupils	No. of schools	No. of pupils
High Schools	98	28,397	134	35,851	36	7,454
Middle Schools	213	20,251	298	29,801	85	9,550
Middle Vernacular Schools	144	10,467	243	25,042	99	14,575
Total	455	59,115	675	90,694	220	31,579

Thus, there had been an increase of 31,579 pupils in 12 years or 2631 pupils a year, a progress that beat all previous records. According to Hunter Commission Report there were 282 High Schools in Bihar.[22]

18. Ibid., pp. 24-25.
19. Ibid., p. 163.
20. Education Commission Report, p. 16.
21. Reports on the Progress of Education in Bihar and Orissa, 1912-13 and 1925-26.
22. Bihar Past and Present (ed. Dr. Bhagavant Sahay and Dr. Sachchidanand Sahai, Pub. by Bihar Historical Society, Dept. of Ancient History and Archaeology, Patna, University, Patna-5, 1981), Education and Cultural Education in Bihar, by Dr. J. S. Jha, p. 86.

The first Quinquennial Report (1912-17) shows that there were 100 High Schools with 34,734 pupils and 226 M. E. Schools with 23,415 pupils.[23]

During the next five years, although the number of secondary schools of all class rose to 567, the number of students declined, chiefly due to Non-Co-operation Movement.[24] From January 1939 the medium of instruction in class VIII of all High Schools became the mother tongue (Hindi) of the students.[25] During these years Government also decided to introduce the Basic Education Scheme outlined by All India Board of Basic Education in a compact area in Champaran district.[26] Since Quit India Movement to Independence on the 15th August, 1947, the education in the schools received a sort of set back as the government was engaged in dealing with the independence movement intensified by the people of India and its preoccupation in the Second World War.

Progress of Education after Independence : 1947 to 1987

SECONDARY EDUCATION

In the post-independence era secondary schools had gone rapidly increasing, because of the enlightened leaders and peoples' zeal. The Budget Report of 1950-51 shows that Rs. 3 crores 19 lakhs, higher upto the tune of Rs 1 crore 90 lakhs over, 1949-50, were alloted for the education.[27] In spite of the withdrawal of central assistance towards the development scheme, the Government of Bihar for the first time revised the salaries of teachers from primary to college levels at an estimated additional expenditure of Rs. 1 crore 20 lakhs.[28]

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23. Ibid.
24. Ibid, p. 86.
25. Ibid.
26. Ibid.
    The Bihar Legislative Council Debates, Official Report 14th Feb., 1953 (for detailed nature of Basic education) pp. 11-12.
27. Vikhashonmukh Bihar Budget ke Ayane Mein. (1950 to 1982), Pub. by Sangsadiya Karya Vibhaga Tatha Adhikshak Sachivalaya Mudranalaya, Patna, 7, Nov., 1982, p. 7.
28. Ibid,

The provincialization 17 Girls' Middle and 10 Girls' High Schools were done in the current financial year. The 14 Girls' High Schools and 29 High Middle Schools were provincialized in 1951 and 40 Middle and 17 High Schools were provincialized in 1951-52.[29] In 1951-52 recognised high schools were given a good amoun of financial assistance by the state government for making an expenditure over enhanced salaries of the teachers and the libraries.[30] Near Muzaffarpur at Turki a new Training College had come into existence.[31] Twentysix Girls' Middle Schools and 14 Girls High Schools were provincialized to improve the female education in the State.[32]

In 1952-53, Rs. 1 crore 70 lakhs were provided for secondary education, though total expenditure over education was Rs. 4.12 crores.[33] Shri A. N. Sinha, the Finance Minister of Bihar, expressing satisfaction in his budget speech, said that the target that was set sometime ago of spending atleast one rupee per head of the population of Bihar per year on education has been achieved. It will be of interest to compare this with the expenditure of Rs. 1.06 crores in 1946-47 or four annas per head of the population. Today expenditure on education is the single largest item in the budget and exceeds the provision under police, which so far had the distinction of being the heaviest spending department.[34]

The Bihar School Examination Board was established at Patna in the year 1953-54, which had taken over the Matriculation examination from the Patna University.[35] The Government had taken steps to re-

29. Ibid., also see, History of Indian National Congress in Bihar (ed. Dr. P. N. Ojha, K. P. Jaiswal Research Institute, Patna, 1985), p. 631. Bihar Legislative Council Debates, Vol. IV, No. 10, 1951, List of School with their Headmistress, and debate on that appoint probating etc., pp. 7-12 and 13.

30. Vikashonmukh Bihar, op. cit. p. 25.

31. Ibid.

32. Ibid., p. 25.

33. Ibid., p. 43.

34. Ibid.

35. Ibid., p. 68.

organize courses of studies in the Secondary standard on progressive line and introduced assessment system of examination at the school level to be added in the final matriculation examination.[36] There were 774 fully recognised and 220 partially recognised High Schools, 2 Government High Schools of Saraikela and Kharsawan were brought to the level of Zila School.[37] Twentythree High Schools of aboriginal areas were declared total deficit grant schools.[38] Progress in girl's education continued and 14 Girl's High Schools and 34 Girl's Middle Schools were brought under state control, which also included some of the newly opened Schools of Government Schools. One more Girl's High School was provincialized.[39]

During 1954-55 Rs. 5 lakhs were provided for the introduction of diversified courses in High Schools to cover groups of subjects connected with the professions and vocations alongwith other subjects.[40] For the introduction of Science teaching in the Government High Schools for boys and girls special financial provision had been made.[41] Saraikela School's building had been taken up for construction and Netarhat School had been incorporated in the budget[42], as a first rate school for imparting education to the boys upto the high school stage. Since its inception it has established its reputation as the premier school of Bihar. Another school of this type is Sainik School, Tilaiya.

During the period 1956-57 the total number of High Schools was 913 with 2.4 lakh students on roll.[43] In the financial year 1957-58, for the first time in Bihar regular pay-scale for the teachers of non-Government

36. Ibid., p. 68.
37. Ibid.
38. Ibid.
39. Ibid., p. 104.
40. Ibid.
41. Ibid., also see for details Reports of Secondary Education Commission and Bihar Rajyapala ka Abhibhashan, op. cit., pp. 71 and 296.
42. Ibid., p. 107.
43. Ibid., p. 161.

Schools were introduced by the State Government with effect from the 1st April, 1949, but this scale was not at par with the Government school's teachers.[44] The Government, therefore, worked out a model scale of pay for the teachers of Non-Government High Schools and decided to give matching grant of 50% to any such schools which had implimented the model pay scale of the Government.[45] The Provident Fund Scheme was introduced for teachers and for this purpose the Government directly aided the Schools upto 1/16% of the total salary.[46] The age of retirement of a teacher was fixed at 60 years, by the Government.[47] Zila school at Saharsa was also opened. During 1958-59, 20 Government High Schools were converted into Multipurpose High Schools or Higher Secondary Schools.[48] During 1959-60 one High School was opened by the Government at Gardanibagh, Patna. It was also decided by the Government to open 5 Aided High Schools in such a Police Station where there was no High School.[49] In 1960-61, 70 High Schools were upgraded as Multipurpose High Schools and 50 fully Aided-Girl's High Schools were also opened.[50] Though the Primary Education is not within the purview of this topic, still it can be mentioned here that the Bihar Government took revolutionary step in taking over all Primary Schools of the State and declaring them the Government Schools from retrospective effect in the year 1973.

The table given below indicates the gradual increase of Higher Secondary Schools and Multipurpose School and their students.[51]

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44. Ibid.
45. Ibid., p. 192.
46. Ibid.
47. Ibid., p. 192.
48. Ibid., p. 228, also see Bihar, Rajyapala ka Abhibhashan, op. cit., p. 120.
49. Vikashonmukh Bihar, op. cit., p. 253.
50. Ibid., p. 283, see Bihar, Rajyapala ka Abhibhashan, op. cit., pp. 135 and 149.
51. Vikhasonmukh Bihar, op. cit., p. 418.
    Bihar Rajyapal ka Abhibhashan, op. cit., pp. 159, 179, 226 and 318.
    History of Indian National Congress Bihar, pp. 809-10. also see, Indian Nation, Nov., 19, 1976.

Table No. 2

Year	No. of High Schools	Upgradation of High Schools to No. of Multi-purpose High Schools.	Upgradation of High Schools No. of Higher Secondary Schools.	No. of students
1951	641	—	—	1.5 lakh
1960-61	—	70	—	—
During 2nd five yr. plan period.	—	—	1515	—
1963	—	—	1732	—
1964	—	—	70	55,000
1965	—	—	1877	—
166	2100	(abolished in 1971)	(abolished in 1971)	5.19 lakh.

For the better lot of the teachers and timely payment of the salary to them, the Government in 1974 created Secondary Education Board and reorganised it in 1977 and in this year Education Service Commission was established for the recruitment of the teachers in Non-Government High Schools.[52] The Government decided to pay the deficit grant to High School teachers after the implementation of Kothari Commission pay scales and removal of the disparity of pay scales between Non-Government and Government School teachers in 1975-76.[53]

During 1979-80 in High Schools Book Banks were established to help poor students. The Government decided to open 2 and 12 Rajya Samposit High Schools (State Aided) in the current and next year, respectively.[54] Chief Minister Dr. Jagannath Mishra, as a teacher Chief

52. Vikashonmukh Bihar op. cit., p. 447.

53. Ibid., p. 447.

54. Ibid. p. 495.

Minister, brought alround change in the field of education. He had taken the daring steps to declare the Non-Government High School as Government High Schools, incorporating 3020 High Schools with 35,000 teachers and 11,000 non-teaching staff in the Government service, burdenig the state-exchequer with additional expenditure of over Rs. 12 crores.[55] He, thereafter, became Messiah of the teachers in Bihar. Dr. Mishra also had taken steps to open three Boys and one Girls High Schools and one residential Middle School in each block and one residential High School in each district.[56] Harijan students were given Rs. 15 as stipend. In non-aboriginal and aboriginal areas 547 and 244 book-banks were established, respectively.[57]

In 1982-83 Dr. Jagannath Mishra provided Rs. 239.41 crores for educational uplift. A large sum was allotted for the development of women education, for the poor students of the weaker section of the society, and over the constructions and repairs of schools, colleges, and hostel buildings. The teachers and non-teaching staff of schools were given dearness allowances at par with Government employees at Central Government rates in the financial year, 1981-82. Fourth pay revision scale at par with Government employees were also given to school teachers and non-teaching staff. The promotional avenues were opened to atleast two grades, such as, Pravarkoti or Selection Grade and super selection grade. From 1984 to 1987 the Chief Minister Shri Chandra Shekhar Singh and Shri Bindeshwari Dube provided all facilities to the development of school education and teacher's welfare, and, struck to the law made earlier to prevent unfair means in the different examinations; and adoption of unfair means by the students and facilitating the same by others have been made cognizable offence. The syllabus of high school is now elaborate with almost all Arts and Science subjects and the method of examination is objective as well as descriptive.

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55. Ibid., p. 513, Bihar Rajyapaļa ka Abhibhashan, op. cit. p. 388. History of Indian National Congress in Bihar, op. cit. p. 902.

56. Vikashonmukh Bihar, pp. 559-595.

57. Ibid., p. 559.

Thus, from 1912 to 1987 we see consistency in the process of the progress in English Education in Bihar at Secondary level.

Progress of Higher Education under British Rule

The Higher education of Bihar was tagged with Bengal before 1917. The revolutionary step towards the University education in India was the incorporation of University of Calcutta by Act 11 of 1857-58. Prior to 1863 there was no college in Bihar. The Patna College was opened as late as 1863 with 5 students only with monthly fee of Rs. 2.[59] Mr. J. K. Rogers, Headmaster of the Patna Collegiate School was put in-charge of the college.[60] It was only on the 14th February, 1867 that a Principal, named Mr. J. W. McGrindle was appointed.[61] To this College a law department was added with only one lecturer in 1864.[62]

Recommendations of Lord Ripan's Education Commission (1882) did not affect the Patna College. The second college that rose in Bihar was the Tej Narayan Jubilee College (Now Tej Narayan Banaili College), which was affiliated in 18 7 as second grade college and in 1890 raised to the status of first grade college.[63] The next college that sprang up was Bihar National College (B. N. College) at Patna, a creation of Babu Bisheshwar Singh, Zamindar of Kulhara.[64] The next college that sprang up was Monghyr Diamond Jubilee College (Now R. D. & D. J. College), after amalgamating Raja Kameshwar Pd. Sinha High School and the Victoria Jubilee School with Munger Zila School in 1897.[65] The Bhumihar Brahman College, Muzaffarpur (now L. S. College) ows its existence to

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58. Bhagavati Sahay, op. cit. p. 114.
59. Ibid., p. 121.
60. Ibid., p. 121.
61. Ibid.
62. Ibid.
63. Ibid., p. 124.
64. Ibid., p. 125.
65. Ibid., p. 126.

Babu Langat Singh, a public spirited Zamindar, and former Commissioner of Tirhut Division Mr. T. R. Greer, contributed in making it a first grade Government college.[66] The first President of India Dr. Rajendra Prasad was for sometime Professor there.[67] Saint Columba College at Hazaribagh is the philanthropic work of the Dublin University Mission and it was started in 1899 and in 1904 it developed into a full-fledged first grade college.[68]

The year 1904 marks a new epoch in the history of Indian education. The Education Commission headed by Mr. T. Religh in 1902, made its recommendations regarding nature of University education in India and position and powers of Senate and Syndicate were defined to have control over the autonomy of Calcutta University,[69] which had been widely resented.

Sir Ati Iman moved to Earle, the Commissioner of Patna, for opening a law college at Patna and with his efforts in 1909 Patna Law College was established.[70] As D. P. I. of Bengal Mr. Earle, helped in the establishment of Badshah Nawab Razvi Women's Training College (BNRWT College) and Patna Training College.[71]

With the efforts of Bihar Provincial Conference and political leaders of Bihar, the Bihar Province was separated from Bengal in 1912. In an extra-ordinary session of Bihar Provincial Conference held on 19th Feb, 1912 under the Presidentship of the Tekari Maharaja the demand for the establishment of a University at Patna was made.[72] Finally due to the efforts of the Bihar members of the Committee (appointed in 1913) of the Legislative Council, the Patna University Act came into force in 1917. The constitution of Patna University Act (XVI of 1917) came into

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66. Ibid., p. 127.
67. Ibid.
68. Ibid., p. 128.
69. Ibid.
70. Ibid., p. 133.
71. Ibid.
72. Ibid., p. 87.

force on 1st Oct., 1917.[73] The University was to impart education, promote original research, conduct examinations, confer degrees, admit institutions, administer the colleges of the University, foment discipline, and supervise external colleges and institutions.[74] Under the regulation of Patna University, sanctioned in February, 1918, the power was delegated to D. P. I. to recognise High Schools for the purpose of presenting candidates at Matriculation Examination.[75]

With the establishment of Patna University in Bihar higher education began to progress in good speed and the following colleges were within the jurisdiction of Patna University : Patna College, Ravenshwa College (Cuttack), B. B. College (Muzaffarpur), T. N. J. College, St. Columba College, and D. J. College (Munger). The students and volume of expenditure can be gleaned through the table given below as an indicator of the rate of progress made during the period :[76]

Table No. 3

Year	No. students in college	Direct Expenditure on college.
1912	1,722	Rs. 2,57,961
1913	2,062	Rs. 3,08,286
1914	2,227	Rs. 3,50,070
1915	2,415	Rs. 3,99,151
1916	2,575	Rs. 3,99,090
1917	2,811	Rs. 3,91,183
1918	2,914	Rs. 4,20,699
1919	2,591	Rs. 4,92,525

73. History of Indian National Congress in Bihar, op. cit., pp. 87-88. Bhagavati Sahay, op. cit., p. 133. Report on the Administration of Bihar & Orissa, 1913-14 p. XXVI.

74. N. K. Jha, op. cit., p. 329.

75. Ibid., p. 334.

76. Report on the Progress of Education in Bihar and Orissa for 1913-14, para-5, for 1914-15, p. 4. for 1915-16 para-20, for 1917-18, para 19 for 1918-19, & for 1919-20, para-18.

Post-Graduate classes were opened in Patna College including Physics and Chemistry in 1921 and Professor in different subjects were appointed.[77] Various types of grants were given to Patna College for scientific equipments and libraries and Rs. 42,000 were granted to affiliated college.[78] Science College, Patna was established in 1927, as a separate institution for higher teaching and research.[79] The number of students since the establishment of Patna University went on increasing in colleges, and it was 3620.[80] Till 1937 only two more new colleges, viz., Nalanda College, Bihar Sharif and Ranchi College were established. In 1938–39 C. M. College, Darbhanga was established. Two Arts Colleges for females came into existance in 1941.[81] In 1946 the total number of colleges for males was 18, and the total number of students in womens colleges was only 240.[82]

Progress of Higher Education in Post-Independence Period

Since the independence in 1947, the number of colleges, students and universities went on rapidly increasing in the State of Bihar. The Congress Government took education as a greatest challenge. The spirit is reflected in the budget speech of the Finance Minister Shri Anugrah Narayan Sinha : To-day expenditure on education is the single largest item in the budget and exceeds the provisions under Police, which so far had been the distinction of being the heaviest spending department.[83]

In 1947-48 a Government Degree College was opened at Ranchi for the benefit of aboriginal students of the area. A Government Degree College for women was opened at Patna. In 1949 a women's college (now Sundervati Mahila College) was opened at Bhagalpur.[84]

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77. Ibid., For 1917-18, para 24 and for 1918-19, para-23.
78. Ibid., for 1914-15, p. 4.
79. Bihar Past & Present, op. cit., p. 85.
80. Ibid., p. 85.
81. Ibid.
82. Ibid.
83. Vikashonmukh Bihar, op. cit., p. 43.
84. Bihar District Gazetteers Bhagalpur, P. C. Roy, 1962, p. 484.

The new course of Experimental Psychology was introduced at Patna College. Seats were increased in all Government colleges and T. N. J. College, Bhagalpur.[85] The Post-Graduate Teachings in various Arts and Science subjects started at Patna College, Science College, G. B. B. College and T. N. J. College. For the above purpose grants were given to the University and Rs. 1 lakh released for the University Press.[86] Adequate steps were taken up by the Government for providing hostel facilities to the students at Patna and in 1950-51, Rs. 25 lakhs were allotted for University education.[87]

The Governor in his address to the Legislature on the 16th Feb., 1950 referred about the pending bill for the establishment of three Universities viz. Patna University, Bihar University and Ranchi University.[88] The establishment of Patna University (as Federative Teaching University) and Bihar University (teaching cum affiliating) on 2, Jan., 1952, was a landmark in the progress of English education in Bihar.[89] The Government by an Act had sanctioned satutory grant of 33.2% to Patna University and 50% to Bihar University. Patna University was granted Rs. 35 lakhs and Bihar University Rs. 18 lakhs.[90] Bihar University was shifted from Patna to Muzaffarpur in 1960.

In 1951 Deoghar College, and in 1954 Santhal Parganas College and Godda College in Santhal belt were established.[91] In 1951, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the first President of Indian Union laid the foundation of Nalanda Institute of Post-Graduate Studies and Research (in Pali and Buddhistic learning and Asian languages). The Mithila Institute of Post-

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85. Vikashonmukh Bihar, op. cit. p. 8.
86. Ibid., p. 8.
87. Ibid.
88. Bihar & Rajyapala ka Abhibhashan, op. cit. pp. 22 & 37.
89. Vikashonmukh Bihar, op. cit. p. 42.
90. Ibid., p. 43.
91. Bihar District Gazetteers., Santhal Parganas, P. C. Roy, 1965, pp. 608-609.

Graduate Studies and Research was also established at Darbhanga.[92] Later on Vaishali Institute of Prakrit Studies was established at Vaishali and K. P. Jaiswal Research Institute was also established for higher research. Shri J. C. Mathur, I. C. S., Education Secretary took keen interest in the establishment of these Institutes. The total expenditure over education in 1952-53 was Rs. 4.12 crores (Rs. 4.49 crores as mentioned in the budget speech of 1953-54) and in 1953-54 it was Rs. 5.1 crores.[93]

In 1956-57 two Training Colleges were established at Bhagalpur and Ranchi.[94] In the recent past, at Deoghar, Saharsa and Chapra, Training Colleges have been opened. In 1955-56, Rs. 10 lakhs as development grant was granted to both the Universities.

The Bihar University, the Government in addition to statutory recurring grant sanctioned Rs. 4.5 lakhs for the development of College at, Saharsa, Daltanganj, Bhagalpur and Gaya. The Government also sanctioned Rs. 40,000 as annual recurring grant to Women's College at Bhagalpur and Ranchi. Patna University received Rs. 2 lakhs grant for the construction of Common Room & Library in B. N. College and construction of quarters and hostels for Mahila Training College, Patna.[95]

To fulfill the growing demands for science and technical students, the State Government increased the seats in I. Sc. and B. Sc. classes from 2672 to 6210 and 453 to 1,000 respectively.[97] In both the Universities seats in M. Sc. classes were also increased. Patna and Bihar Universities received Rs. 1,32,000+Rs. 9,95,000 and Rs. 6,83,200+Rs. 34,80,850, respectively as recurring and non-recurring grants. The Govern-

92. Vikashonmukh Bihar, op. cit. p. 43 also see, History of Indian National Congress in Bihar, op. cit., p. 632.

93. Vikashonmukh Bihar, op. cit., pp. 43 & 67.

94. Ibid., p. 161.

95. Ibid., p. 723.

96. Ibid., p. 123.

97. Ibid., p. 162.

ment had decided to advance Rs. 2,90,000 as interest free loan to the Universities for the construction of hostels.[98] Government also liberally granted to Private Tutorial Colleges imparting teaching to girl students reading in colleges.

In 1957-58, the Patna University purchased Darbhanga House at Patna, for housing P. G. Departments of the Faculty of Arts and the Government made grant of Rs. 6 lakhs for this purpose. The Government decided to meet the deficits of Ranchi, Bhagalpur and Muzaffarpur Women's Colleges.[99] The Government in 1958-59 decided to start B. Sc. teaching in all colleges of the district head-quarters. M. Sc. teaching in Physics & Chemistry was introduced in Ranchi College and M. Sc. teaching in Botany and Zoology was also started in L. S. College.[100]

Revolutionary steps towards the expansion of higher education in Bihar was taken by passing the Bihar State Universities Act, 1960; with elaborate rules relating to service conditions and workings of the Universities. In consequence of the Act, at four Divisional headquarters four Universities namely, Patna (teaching), Bihar (Tirhut Division), Ranchi and Bhagalpur Universities were created. Kameshwar Singh Sanskrit University at Darbhanga was also created. The Three Years Degree Course with Pre-University and B. A. Previous classes were started in 1960 along with two years B. A./B. Sc. classes.[101]

In the year, 1962 Magadh University was established at Gaya.[102] And after a decade Mithila University at Darbhanga was also established with the College of Kosi and Darbhanga Division alongwith the Post-Graduate teachings in Arts, Commerce and Science faculties (presently it is named as Lalit Narayan Mithila University). The University and P. G. Departments are housed in the beautiful Darbhanga Raj buildings

98. Ibid., p. 162.

99. Ibid., p. 192.

100. Ibid., p. 228.

101. Bihar Rajyapala Ka Abhibhashan, op. cit. p. 135.

102. Ibid., p. 149.

with big campus. For having control over affiliated college Governing Bodies, Government decided to establish Bihar State University Commission for appointment, promotion and dismissal, of the affiliated college teachers.[103] While the B. P. S. C., recruited teachers of the colleges and departments of the Universities of Bihar. This Commission is still in existence. In 1963 different Bodies of the Universities were created to give democratic frame to the Universities of Bihar with larger amount of autonomy;[104] though such autonomy in subsequent years have been curtailed through Acts or Ordinances of the Government. University Grants Commission was established on U. G. C. pattern, which later on has taken the shape of Inter-University Board. The Government took decision to remove English as a compulsory subject and it was made effective from June-July, 1967. The students failed in English in matriculation examination in 1967 were declared pass and in the Universities it was made effective from June-July, 1967 session.[105]

The Government finding rise in the prices of books, paper and food-stuffs decided to supply the students these articles on subsidised prices through their own co-operative societies.[106] The Government raised the library grants from Rs. 5 lakhs to Rs. 6 lakhs and increased the number of scholarships from 2,250 to 4,000.[107] The Government enhanced the hostel grants from Rs. 9 lakhs to Rs. 20 lakhs.

The new dimension to Universities functioning was given by involving the students in it. A committee under the chairmanship of Education Minister, Vice-Chancellors and student's representatives was formed to frame job oriented syllabus. To know the view points and need of the students Government ordered for the formation of students organizations at college and University levels.[103]

103. Ibid.

104. Ibid., p. 159.

105. Ibid., p. 208.

106. Vikashonmukh Bihar, op. cit. p. 428.

107. Ibid.

108. Ibid.

Whatever be the good intention of the government, it has created detrimental effect on teaching, standard of examination and discipline in the campuses of the academic institutions. At present the colleges or Universities have been converted as colonies of different political parties, and dividing students on political lines and diverting their time and energies from academic pursuits to some temporary political prominence and gains.

During 1977-78 the Book Banks were established in 243 colleges and 76 University Departments of different Universities of Bihar.[109] The non-Congress Government during 1978-79 and 1979-80 and earlier did not initiate any new developmental measures, except removing English as a compulsory subject, which has its few advantages and many disadvantages on the standard of teaching in this State.

With the installation of Dr. Jagannath Mishra, as the Chief-Minister of Bihar, a wind of transformation blew in all spheres of the State.[110] As a teacher Chief Minister, what he did for the teaching community is beyond enumeration. He had established the socio-economic position and respectability of this community and put it on progressive line to prosper like all other classes of the society.

Shri Kedar Pandey's Government had abolished all University Bodies and put them under the thumb of bureaucrats, more so for bringing normalcy in the University campus, which had detoriated beyond repair. During his regime he almost completely abolished the use of unfair means in the examinations; which had been widely welcomed by the people. But the scraping of the Bodies of the University was resented by the intelligensia.[111]

Under the leadership of Dr. Jagannath Mishra, even during the Emergency, significant achievements were made in the field of education,

109. History of National Congress in Bihar. op. cit. p. 809. Kurukshetra December, 16, 1975, p. 11.

110. Link, 'A New Bihar is Emerging' by Dr. Jagannath Mishra, Chief Minister of Bihar, December, 14, 1975, p. 37.

111. History of Indian National Congress in Bihar, op. cit., p. 803.

and the chaotic conditions in the academic institutions was brought to an end. The autonomy of the University was restored and the system of appointment of teacher Vice-Chancellor was introduced. The new post of Pro-Vice-Chancellor was created.[112] A common statutes for all Universities of Bihar was drafted for bringing efficiency in the functioning of the Universities. The post of Principals of the Constitutent Colleges were made transferable and the retirement age of teachers was fixed at 60 years. Legislator-Professors were forced[113] to take leave during the tenure of their membership of legislature under specific statute, which later on repelled by the Supreme Court verdict, which has since then adversely affected the teaching due to their constant absence from the Departments/Institutions.[114] Government introduced its control over the creation of the posts in the Universities. A co-ordination committee for Research Councils was constituted to achieve harmony and co-ordination in framing the syllabus of different Universities.

The State Government decided to implement the U. G. C. pay scale from 1.1.1973 and a sum of Rs. 325 crores was sanctioned for insuring payments to the college teachers. In due course 50 affiliated colleges were converted into Constituent colleges.[117] One post of the Dean of Student Welfare was created for looking into the welfare of the students. Students Unions were formed in the colleges and at the University levels and students were given representations in the Senate to have a rapport with them.[118]

In 1980-83 decision to delink Intermediate classes from the colleges and Universities was taken up and Intermediate Education Council was established and three year degree course instituted in the

112. Ibid., p. 808.
113. Ibid.
114. Ibid.
115. Ibid., p. 809.
116. Ibid.
117. Ibid.
118. Ibid.

University syllabus.[119] Keeping in view the broad objectives of higher education, the Government, under Dr. Mishra, took a bold decision to convert as many as 139 colleges of different Universities into constituent units. A sum of Rs. 1 lakh was given to such colleges for equipping them at initial stage. The process of conversion into constituent units is since then continuing. For improving condition of the teachers; equality in pay and scope of promotion at par with State Government employees; were implemented alongwith triple benefit schemes and dearness allowances at Central Government rates.[121] It was decided to give at least one promotion to a college teacher from lecturer to reader grade (13 years for Ph. D. holders and 18 years for non-Ph. D. teachers) and it was brought into force from the 14th November, 1980.[122]

When on August 14, 1983, Shri Chandra Shekhar Singh replaced Dr. Mishra, as the Chief Minister of the State and Dr. Nagendra Jha, as the Education Minister, long felt need for P. G. teaching in the important colleges was taken up.[123] In order to recruit teachers of the Universities the University Selection Committee was created in each University,[124] which later on was withdrawn by establishing a Bihar University & College Service Commission (Constituent Colleges), to avoid the bungling in the appointment at the University-level Selection Committees. In this period in December, 1984 the two College Teachers Association of the State succeeded in arriving at an agreement with the Government for house rent, medical facilities etc. and above all long awaited demand for promotion, from readers' to professors' grade.[125] This demand alongwith others were graciously conceded and implemented by the present

119. Ibid., p. 903.
120. Ibid.
121. Ibid.
122. Ibid.
123. Ibid., p. 912.
124. Ibid.
125. Ibid.

Chief Minister Shri Bindeshwari Dube and Education Minister Smt. Uma Pandey and Shri Lokeshnath Jha, who succeeded her.[126]

Under New Education Policy of the Centre the present Chief Minister Shri Bindeshwari Dube is taking necessary steps to improve education. In 1987, from 4 August, All India University Teachers Association (A. I. F. U. C. T. O.) launched All India strike, which continued for 32 days and came to an end on 5 September, 1987 after the conclusion of an agreement with the Human Resources Ministry at the Centre for the new grades introduced in the Mehrotra Pay Commission Report and insertion of the promotional schemes. But, strong resentment by teachers of the country have been shown against the agreement reached and called it hitting the teachers in their backs.

Now, it may be summed up, from 1912 to 1987, the State of Bihar struggled for the progress of English Education in Bihar, and, the State of Bihar is progressing towards achieving more in the field.

University Professor
Post-Graduate Department of History
Bhagalpur University,
Bhagalpur

126. Ibid., pp. 922-923.

Progress of Sanskrit Education in Bihar (1912-1987)

INDIRA KANT PATHAK

The word Sanskrit means perfected. Its perfection was comparative to the commonly spoken Prakrit. Education is a subject of vital importance to every age and it is both the instrument and result of refined culture.[1] In the present article Sanskrit means Indology, i. e., every branch of knowledge which flourished in India from 1500 B. C. to 1200 A. D. and onwards.[2] Sanskrit is the natural basis of our unity, culture and vitality. It is inextricably woven into the collective un-concious of the Indian mind. It has the unique privilege of being the singular binding force for the different peoples of India living in various parts of the country each having its own language and customs. Again, it is the language in which are enshrined the glorious achievements of the SADHANA of our ancient seers and scholars encompassing almost every branch of knowledge. It is the bed-rock of Indian culture on which alone we can build up the super-structure of new India of our dreams. All scholars and students of Sanskrit are familiar with the place-names—Mithila, Magadha, Videha, Vaishali and Anga etc. All these places were comprised in what is now known as Bihar.[2a]

Reputation of the Indians for higher knowledge and learning goes back to the days of remote antiquity. Indeed, as Mr. Thomas observed :

1. S. R. Sharma, Ancient Indian History and Culture, p. 123., B. P. Sinha, "Higher Education in Ancient Bihar", in Altekar-Datta Memorial Lecture.
2. Hari Mohan Mishra, the Indian Nation, July 29, 1984.

2a. S. C. Banerji, Contribution of Bihar to Sanskrit Literature, p. 1.

"There is no country where the love of learning had so early an origin or has exercised so lasting and powerful an influence."[3] The historic region of Bihar occupied an important position in this respect. Bihar has a brilliant tradition of learning, in the field of Sanskrit, since the days of Raja Janaka, the philosopher King of Mithila, who maintained a galaxy of learned scholars in his court, and encouraged Sanskrit learning by various ways. Even in the historic period, as early as 300 B. C., Megasthanese, the Greek ambassador to the court of Chandragupta, found a highly cultured society in which pursuit of learning, specially that of philosophy, was held in great esteem. The medium of learning, Sanskrit, itself came to be known as Deva Bhasha (or the language of God) and its cultivator the Brahmans, as Bhudeva, i. e., God on the earth. The ordnance of the Hindu religion demanded that a Brahman must teach. The varnashrama-dharma required a considerable part of his early life to be led as brahmachari, devoted to the acquisition of learning. And to enable him to bestow his undivided attention upon the pursuit of learning, the Hindu law made it a pious work on the part of the sovereign and community to provide for his temporal wants.[4]

Even when Buddhism flourished in this land learning was as eagerly pursued and esteemed as in former times. Nay, it came to be more popularly based. The Chinese travellers who visited this land were highly impressed with the large number of great educational institutions and scholastic attainments of the natives of the place. Nalanda and Vikramashila rose to international fame. After the Muslim conquest, the Mosque became, as in other Islamic countries, a centre of Muslim learnings. The study of Sanskrit also, after a brief period of decline, regained its former position by the 15th century. Mithila, under the Shrotriya Brahmans, again became the centre of Sanskrit learning in the eastern part of the country. In the 16th century Mithila emerged "as the acknowledged head, both secular and religious, of all regions to the north of the river Saryu. The Shrotriya rulers encouraged Sanskrit

3. F. W. Thomas, History and Prospects of British Education in India, p. 1.

4. J. S. Jha, Journal of the Bihar Research Society. Vol. XXXXV, Parts—I-IV, March-December 1959.

learning and attracted Sanskritists from different parts of India."[5] Like ancient Pataliputra, during the medieval period Pataliputra also maintained its position as a great educational centre. The tols and chatuspaathees, called by different names, continued undisturbed until the beginning of the 19th century. Mithila, the ancient seat of Sanskrit learning, continued to flourish and the Smriti school originating here attained great eminence during this period. Tirhut was famous for theology, philosophy and politics. During the period A. D. 1206-1761 literature in Sanskrit continued to be produced in the several branches.

The learned traditions of Sanskrit continued in the biginning of the 18th century. In Bihar, towards the end of the 18th century there were many schools of higher learning, which included tols or pathashalas. It can be said that there is hardly any single small region in India where so much Sanskrit writing was done during this period as in this part of the country.

Sanskrit gradually became part of the general school and university curriculum. Some princely states also established Sanskrit colleges and a series of Sanskrit publications. The then Government instituted surveys and collected Sanskrit manuscripts.

Buchanan refers that in Bihar the Darbhanga Raja, pays much attention to the education of the Pandits in his estate. Till the early 19th Century, there were two types of Institutions for education :—

1. those for higher education through the medium of Sanskrit or Persian and Arabic, and
2. those for elementary education.

Such was the state of Sanskrit education in Bihar when the Britishers assumed the reins of Government in India.

According to the report of Principal of Patna College in 1872 the study and teaching of Sanskrit was very popular among students and

5. K. P. Jayswal, Introduction to the Catalogue of Mithila Manuscripts, Vol. I, p. 3.

teachers. While the Darbhanga Raja was considering a scheme of Sanskrit education in his estate the Dharma Samaj (founded in 1869) established a Sanskrit School at Muzaffarpur in 1873. The number of Sanskrit institutions in Bihar rose to 20 by 1892. They were in the district of Saran (3), Patna (1), Gaya (4), Shahabad (1), Champaran (1), Muzaffarpur (2), Darbhanga (4), Bhagalpur (3) and Monghyr (1). In 1878 the operation of Education Department of the government was extended to Sanskrit education by the institution of Title examination, which proved to be a very popular measure. Rahika Sanskrit School in Dharbhanga district was established in 1881. The students of the Pathashala used to appear at the examination of the Bihar Sanskrit Sanjivan which was established in Patna at Bankipur on the 1st April, 1887. Pt. Ambikadatta Vyas, known as "Abhinava Bana" (modern Bana Bhatta) in Sanskrit world was the Secretary of Bihar Sanskrit Sanjivan. In 1891 there were about 200 Sanskrit tols in Bihar. The House of Darbhanga was to a great extent responsible for the exceptional position of Sanskrit learning in Mithila. With Maharaja Rameshwar Singh's accession to the gaddi in 1898 Sanskrit education in the estate received a great impetus. He revived the examination, called the "Dhoti Pariksha". The Maharani Rameshwari Lata Vidyalaya (Sanskrit College) was opened on 12th July, 1907. To encourage conversation in Sanskrit he passed an order to the effect that the teachers and students of the Vidyalaya should talk among themselves in Sanskrit only. The Maharaja also maintained a very good Sanskrit school at Banaras. The Maharaja of Bettiah and Dumraon gave monetary aid to the teachers of Sanskrit Pathashalas imparting instruction in the various parts of their estates.

On the 9th June, 1908, the Government established the Board of Sanskrit Examination. From a correspondence of the year 1910-11, of Maharaja of Darbhanga regarding the maintenance of Sanskrit Vidyalayas by other fellow Zamindars it is learnt that the Bettiah and Tikari estates had no vidyalayas of their own. The Hathua estate only had one pathashala, the annual establishment of which was, however, not furnished.

The Board of Sanskrit Examination consisted of six eminent orthodox Pandits and five Sankritists versed in western methods. The

establishment of the Board, according to the Calcutta University Commission (1917-18) gave a great stimulus to the study of Sanskrit in tols.[6]

On the creation of the Province of Bihar and Orissa in 1912 an attempt was made on the part of Government to recognise Sanskrit learning in the province. The Maharaja of Darbhanga took great interest in the matter. Some new Sanskrit schools were opened in the various parts of the estate.

Further on the 20th December, 1912, the Director of Public Instruction, Bihar and Orissa, addressed a personal letter to the Maharaja of Darbhanga inviting his opinion on certain proposals for the encouragement of ancient learning of the country and the improvement of instruction in the classical language of India. The reply of the Maharaja throws considerable light on the state of Sanskrit learning in this Province.

According to the Maharaja the existing state of Sanskrit learning in the Tirhut division was not at all satisfactory. The schools were very inadequate in number. In addition, to the old system of individual Pandits teaching students at their own homes, there were a certain number of Pathashalas with paid teachers. But in all these institutions the standard of teaching had deteriorated owing to the very low standard of examinations conducted by the Department of Instructions of Bengal. The separation of the Province of Bihar from Bengal, however, had provided an opportunity for giving a fresh impetus to Sanskrit learning and raising the standard of examinations equal at least to those of Banaras. The system of payment by results should be strictly enforced. In Bihar no Sanskrit teacher got more then Rs. 30/- a month in the Pathashala. Of course, there could not be an uniformity in the pay of teachers. Much would depend on the condition of the pathashalas. In the revised scheme provision should be made for the creation of at least one post in every district carrying not less than Rs. 100/- a month, which would act as an inducement to exertion. It would also be desirable to appoint a Superintendent of Sanskrit Studies. To this officer should be entrusted the task of reorganising Sanskrit education. As there existed valuable private

6. Calcutta University Commission Report, Vol. II, part I, p. 92.

collections of Sanskrit literature in Darbhanga district he should also, with the help of a staff of well trained pandits, explore, purchase and catalogue the manuscripts. His pay should not be less than of a Divisional Inspector of Schools. Scholarships should be given to students on a graduated scale. Some fellowships of Rs. 15/- to Rs. 20/- should be available for students who had passed the final examination. The recepient might be employed for teaching or writing of original theses or cataloguing of manuscripts. The result of the correspondence is not known. We can, however form some idea of the subsequent development of Sanskrit education in this State.

On the 23rd February, 1914, the Government of Bihar and Orissa appointed a committee to advise it on the various problems connected with indigenous Sanskrit studies.

The committee recommended that "now that Bihar and Orissa forms a separate Province, it is undesirable that it should remain subordinate to an organisation in Bengal and that as it was only for administrative reasons that the control of Sanskrit education in Bihar was centered in Calcutta, a separate association be formed called the Bihar and Orissa Sanskrit Association."[7] The Association was to conduct Sanskrit examinations, distribute stipends and rewards, and advise the government on all questions connected with grants-in-aid to tols and generally in all matters affecting Sanskrit-education.[8] It emphasized the necessity of appointing a Superintendent of Sanskrit Studies. Another important recommendation of the Committee was to provincialise the Dharma Samaj Sanskrit School at Muzaffarpur.

Accordingly on the 19th October, 1915 a Sanskrit Association was established consisting of a Convocation and a Council with 100 and 18 members respectively. The late Maharajadhiraja Rameshwar Singh of Darbhanga was made President of both the bodies. A Superintendent of

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7. B. Sahay, Education in Bihar, p. 278.
8. First Quinquennial Report on the Education of the Province of Bihar and Orissa (1912-17), p. 124.

Sanskrit Studies was appointed during the year 1918-19 in the Provincial Service, and two Assistant Superintendents with pay similar to that of Deputy Inspectors. The Dharma Samaj Sanskrit School was provincialised in 1916-17. It was designated as a "college" and was thenceforth to be managed by a Governing Body of five members with Commissioner of the Tirhut Division as its President.

In the year 1915-16 there were 53 recognised Sanskrit Pathashalas in Bihar under the direct management of Local bodies consisting 998 pupils and in the year 1916-17 the number of such schools and pupils were 96 and 2050 respectively. The Bihar Sanskrit Association conducts Prathama, Madhyama, Shastri and Acharya examinations in different branches of Sanskrit learning. Prathama and Madhyama are the certificate examinations whereas Shastri and Acharya are the degree examinations. The immediate result of the establishment of Sanskrit Association was a marked increase in the number of tol students appearing at the several examinations. In 1916-17 the number of candidates was 2323 for the Prathama, 1567 for the Madhyama and 487 for the title examinations. The credit for the success of the Association during the early years of its existence goes to its first Secretary, Pt. Baldeva Mishra.[9]

BIHAR RESEARCH SOCIETY, PATNA

The Bihar and Orissa Research Society (established on 20th January, 1915 in Patna and now known as Bihar Research Society, Patna) and its Journals are great repositories of Indological knowledge and sources of research.[10] "Vade Vade Jayate Tattvabodhah" is the motto of this Research Society. This Society has amply fulfilled the objects for which it had been established. Within a few years of its publication the Journal of the Society earned an international reputation and occupied the frontal position among the journals of historical researches. Besides the Journal, it has to its credit nearly four dozens of published works. Many cultural institutions that we see in Bihar today are the fruits of the seeds that

9. J. S. Jha, op. cit.
10. B. P. Sinha, General President's Address in the Annual Session of the Bihar Iṭihas Ṣhodh Maṇdal, 28-29 July 1984, p. 16.

were sown by the Society.[11] The Patna Museum and other such institutes of the State which are devoted to the higher learning and research in Indology and Oriental Studies owe their establishment and existence to the Bihar Research Society.

The period 1880-1915 is called "the golden age of Sanskrit education in Bihar".[12] In 1922-23 steps were taken to raise the standard of Sanskrit examinations. The courses of study were revised. Accordingly, a common Prathama examination was prescribed. It was to be followed by an interval at least two years by a Madhyama examination, consisting of three compulsory and three optional papers. The optional papers were to be selected from different groups out of seven. The old title examination was replaced by the Acharya examination. It was divided into three parts, each of which was taken normally after an interval of one year. The Acharya examination was held in each of the thirteen different group .

Within a few years the courses of study were again modified. The common Prathama examination was allowed to continue, but appearance at the Madhyama examination now required an interval of three years. There were two compulsory and four optional papers, the latter to be selected from four different groups out of eight. The Acharya examination was divided into four parts, each of which was to be normally taken after an interval of one year. The number of groups remained thirteen. On passing the first two parts a candidate was given the title of Shastri, and on passing all the four parts the title of Acharya was conferred upon him. The new change thus required two years more to pass the final examination.

In 1935-36 the University of Patna instituted two new degrees of the Bachelor of Oriental Learning (B. O. L.) and Master of Oriental Learning (M. O. L.).[13] The degree of B. O. L. was to be awarded to such Sanskrit title-holders as after passing the Intermediate examination, either wholly or English alone, pass, the B. A. in English as well as in papers

11. J. S. Jha, The Comprehensive History of Bihar, Vol. III, Part II, p. 451.
12. K. S. D. Sanskrit University : At a Glance, p. 15.
13. J. S. Jha, op. cit., p. 381.

IV, V and VI of the Honours course in Sanskrit prescribed for B. A. degree. A candidate for the degree of M. O. L. must after obtaining the B. O. L. degree attain the standard prescribed for the M. A. degree in a classical language.

At present there are two syllabi followed by the Bihar Sanskrit Association. The first is based on the traditional system of education and the other on the modern system of education which includes almost all the modern subjects taught in High English Schools and in Degree Colleges. This has been done to suit the new conditions of life.

But in 1922 we find the figures of candidates having fallen to 1702 in the Prathama, 660 in the Madhyama and 213 in the title examinations. This decline in number was ascribed to the changes of the syllabus since 1920 and enhancement of examination fees by hundred percent for candidates from outside the Province. At the time there was not a single Sanskrit Pathashala for girls and they had to read in boys schools. There were some obvious difficulties in their way and most of them had to drop after the Prathama stage. During the quinquennium (1927-32) only 5 girl candidates appeared at the various Sanskrit examinations. Emphasizing the urgency of the problem the Superintendent of Sanskrit Studies wrote the following—"Sanskrit education can never be expected to make real progress so long as it is kept confined to boys. A few years back there was not a single girl to be found in any Sanskrit institution but now the number of girls is steadily increasing had there been some Sanskrit institutions specially meant for girls, their number would have enormously increased by now, for the majority of the Hindus still adhere to the paradah and, inspite of their great desire to give Sanskrit education to their daughters, are not prepared to send them to boys Sanskrit institutions. The difficulty is very keenly felt after Prathama stage, when the girls are generally over 12 years of age, and cannot safely be sent to boys vidyalayas. This is the reason why almost all girls, after passing the Prathama are obliged to discontinue their studies."[14]

14. Fourth Quinquennial Report (1927-32) on Education in Bihar and Orissa, p. 65.

It appears from the Quinquennial Report of 1932-37 that in 1933-34 special vidyalayas for girls were opened but they did not continue for long. In 1936-37, only fourteen girls appeared at the various examinations.

The following is a quinquennial statement of tols from the creation of the Province of Bihar and Orissa till the period 1912-37.[15]

	1912-17	1917-22	1922-27	1927-32	1932-37
No. of recognised Sanskrit tols	369	233	260	223	292
No. of unrecognised tols	211	85	24	17	10
No. of students in the recognised tols	10,219	6,927	8,025	7,848	10,341
No. of students in the unrecognised tols	2,596	1,309	461	427	337
No. of Sans. Pathashalas	—	319	762	682	734
No. of unreco. Sans. Pathas.	—	1	42	42	64
No. of pupils in reco. S. P.	—	7,265	19,000	18,267	21,360
No. of pupils in unreco. S. P.	—	17	931	1,048	1,405

The above statement shows that there was a sharp fall in the number of both recognised and un-recognised tols. Their number remained fluctuating. Despite the efforts on the part of the Government Inspecting Agency the situation did not show any satisfactory improvement. The Government Agency no doubt brought about some improvement in the tols on modern lines but it did not reach the heart of orthodox Pandits. Writing about Dr. Harichand, the author of Education in Bihar, B Sahay, thus observed "Pity is that, as a result of his European training and his association with European Servants the gentleman cannot live the life of an orthodox Brahman, which has, despite his devoted work, signal success and respect for those who are wedded to Hindu customs,

15. J. S. Jha, op. cit., p. 383,

prejudiced him with the orthodox Hindus."[16] Such a state of thing had already been visualised by the Calcutta University Commission (1917-19).

Another important feature of Sanskrit study was the establishment of Sanskrit primary schools, where elementary instruction in vernacular was given along with Sanskrit. The Government gave aid to such schools. The result was that many tols, with a hope to receive aid, were converted into Sanskrit Pathashalas. We, therefore, notice a gradual increase in the number of both recognised and unrecognised Sanskrit Pathashalas. This policy of Government was however, critically viewed by a section of the people. While they admitted the benefit of teaching boys through their mother tongue in primary stage it was, in their opinion, not proper to impose vernacular teaching on Sanskrit tols. They were also sore of the tendency to discourage primary teachers from teaching Sanskrit even if they possessed adequate knowledge and were inclined to do so. The stoppage of aid to tols which did not teach vernacular was regarded as a great discrimination on the part of Government. Particularly when the same rules were not applied to Maktabs. Even if the Maktabs did not teach vernacular they could not be debarred from receiving stipends. Commenting upon the government policy, Bhagavati Sahaya observed : "If the Maktabs should be financed by the local bodies and should have the same claim on them as ordinary primary schools and it should not be open to local bodies to postpone the claims of Maktabs to those of primary school (vide Government Resolution No. 282 E, dated the 13th February, 1915). I fail to see why pathashalas should be denied similar privilege, if they teach Sanskrit. Maktabs teach the Koran, which is in Arabic and Dinyat. If the special needs of Mohammadans must be provided out of primary allotment, the needs of the Hindus should likewise be provided."[17]

Thus the over all picture that we get of Sanskrit study in the State during 1900-1940 is that the decline that had set in earlier could not be arrested. Apart from the inadequate encouragement from the government

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16. J. S. Jha, J. B. R. S., Vol. XXXXV, Parts-1-IV, March-December 1959.

17. B. Sahay, History of Education in Bihar, p. 283.

there were various other factors responsible for it, the chief being the economically unprofitable aspect of the study. Because of the change of time Sanskrit education did not help its cultivators to earn their livelihood. So the movement started by individuals and associations for the revival of Sanskrit learning could not succeed. But it made the authorities acquainted with problems affecting its progress. And in the subsequent period, therefore, we find the attention of the authorities directed towards the adaptability of the needs of changing times.

Of others who rendered appreciable services to the cause of Sanskrit learning in this State special mention may be made of Dr. Ganganath Jha, M. M. Raghunandan Tripathi, M. M. Ramavatar Sharma, Sarvatantra-Svatantra Bachcha Jha, Pt. Sachinath Jha and Pt. Balkrishna Mishra and noted Indologist Dr. Kashi Prasad Jayaswal etc. To Dr. Harichand belongs the credit of introducing regularity of attendance in the students and regularity of work and business like habits in the teachers of tols.

In 1937 Orissa was separated from Bihar, and in 1939 the State Government set up a committee to look into the question of reorganising Sanskrit studies in Bihar. The committee recommended that the government should aim at producing pandits of a superior type by means of intellectual guidance and financial support. Old traditions of the Shastras must be upheld. Pradhanacharya examination should be instituted and scholarships of Rs. 50/- per month should be provided for students studying for it. The committee also recommended the establishment of a well-equipped Sanskrit College with a good library etc.[18]

A kind of Sanskrit examination which the Maharaja of Darbhanga used to hold in his court, till very recently, was called "Dhaut pariksha" (the examination of Dhoti). The principal court Pandit used to examine candidates and those succeeding had to participate in the scholastic disputes before the Maharaja. As a mark of honour and distinction a pair of Dhoti was given to the successful Pandit, and whenever invitation

18. J. S. Jha, History of Bihar, p. 385.

was to be extended to Pandits by the Maharaja or wealthy persons of Mithila preference was given to those "Dhautparikshottirna" (passed in the examination of Dhoti). Dushala was presented to candidates topping in each subject. This custom was prevalent in the estate till 1940.

But it was really after the country achieved independence in 1947 that the reorganisation of the traditional system of Sanskrit education was seriously taken up. Till 1953 the two kinds of Sanskrit institutions—tols and pathashalas continued. In 1954, however, two new types of Sanskrit institutions came into existence—Government Sanskrit Colleges and Government Sanskrit High Schools. In the year 1940-50 Naugachia and Bihpur in the district of Bhagalpur were very much famous for the higher Sanskrit learning upto the Acharya standard. In establishing the new types of institutions the Government was guided by the motive of effecting such changes in the curriculum which, while preserving the old tradition of learning, could keep up with the demands of modern age. Accordingly apart from Dharma Samaj College of Muzaffarpur three more Government Sanskrit Colleges were established at Ranchi, Bhagalpur and Patna in 1954.[19] The teaching staff in these colleges consisted of both traditional pandits, for traditional branch of Sanskrit learning, and Masters of Arts for teaching modern subjects. The medium of instruction for the traditional branch of learning was Sanskrit and for modern subjects it was Hindi. Later provision was made for the teaching of English and Hindi also in these colleges. Government Sanskrit High Schools were likewise started at the several district headquarters. Besides the headmaster each of these schools was started with four traditional pandits and three graduates. During the year 1954-55[55] the State Government spent a sum of Rs. 6,56,406 over Sanskrit education.

The independence of the country, however, has not been an unmixed blessing so far as Sanskrit education is concerned. A number of research and cultural institutions have been set up in the State to promote the cause of Oriental learning, but it has also dealt a heavy blow to the traditional system of Sanskrit learning. So long there

19. Ibid., p. 386.

were alien rulers the revival of Sanskrit education was encouraged by people as a form of national awakening. The general feeling was that the British rule had thrown out our time-honoured institutions into the background just to replace them with its own. The Hindu Rajas and Zamindars considered it a matter of prestige, and no less a bounden obligation, to maintain learned pandits in their estates. But the independence of the country brought in its train various land reform measures induding the Zamindari Abolition Act which dealt a more severe blow to Sanskrit education than the Resumption proceedings had done in the early British period. No doubt the Government has been making efforts to improve the state of Sanskrit education, but the social philosophy that could sustain it so long is wanting. The high esteem in which Sanskrit pandits were held in the society has become a thing of the past, although every year a few traditional pandits are honoured by the Head of the State. The onslaughts of regional language movement have also pushed the study of Sanskrit into the background.[20]

Keeping in view the tradition of learning and scholarship for which ancient Bihar was noted the Bihar government has established a number of Post-Graduate Research Institutes in different parts of the State, each devoted to some special branches of learning, in 1951, which are objects of admiration of and inspiration to other States.

THE MITHILA RESEARCH INSTITUTE, DARBHANGA

The desire for the rehabilitation and revitalisation of traditional Sanskrit learning was felt during the Congress ministry of 1937-39 and the committee under the presidentship of the Late Maharajadhiraja of Darbhanga, Sir Kameshwar Singh was appointed to suggest ways and and means of re-organising Sanskrit Education in the State.

Through the initiative of Shree M. S. Aney, the Governor of Bihar, Acharya Badrinath Verma, the then Minister of Education, Bihar and Shri J. C. Mathur, I. C. S., the Secretary of Education, the matter was taken in right earnest in 1951. On the 20th October, 1951 Shri J. C.

20. Ibid., p. 387.

Mathur placed his formulated scheme before the Government for establishment of the Sanskrit Research Institute, dealing with its general objectives, special research project, collection and survey of manuscripts, administrative structure and admission of students etc. Thus the Institute, known as "Mithila Institute of Post-Graduate Studies and Research in Sanskrit Learning", was established on the 16th June, 1951. It was November 1951 that the foundation stone of the Institute was laid by the first President of Indian Union, Late Dr. Rajendra Prasad, at Maheshanagar in Darbhanga an 64 acres of land and Rs. 3,40,000 was generously donated by the late Maharajadhiraja Sir Kameshwar Singh. The place of Institution is very conductive to higher study and research. This residential Institute has been running direct under the State Government of Bihar. The Institute is recognised by the Lalit Narayan Mithila University, Darbhanga, only for examination purpose. In other respects it is an autonomous one. It has a very fine library, containing a good collection of rare Sanskrit manuscripts. The main purpose of establishing the Institute was to forge unity between traditional Sanskrit scholarships and modern Sanskrit scholarships.[21] Its Sanskrit publications are very praiseworthy. At the time of foundation the following objectives were envisaged for the Institute :—

1. To organise, conduct and guide advanced studies and research in various branches of Sanskrit Learning to be specified from time to time.
2. To impart specialised teaching of the Post Graduate standard to the selected students.
3. To prepare students holding M. A. Degree for doing higher research.
4. To publish Journal as well as monographs embodying result of research carried on by the members of the teachihg staff and students of the Institute.
5. To collect, survey and critically edit ancient rare manuscripts.

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21. Hari Mohan Mishra, Op. Cit.

6. To undertake publication of critical edition of important Sanskrit texts.
7. To adopt appropriate measure to preserve and promote Sanskrit Learning at its advanced stage.
8. To adopt appropriate measure to preserve and promote Sanskrit texts.

K. P. JAYASWAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE, PATNA

As a part of the programme of rehabilitating and reorienting ancient learning and scholarship, the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna (est. 1951) has undertaken the editing and publication of the Classical Sanskrit Text Series with the co-operation of scholars in Bihar and outside. Another Series, i. e., Tibetan Sanskrit Series has also been started by this Institute.

K. S. D. SANSKRIT UNIVERSITY, DARBHANGA

With the spread of the western type of education through the medium of English and successive onslaught of hostile political, economic and cultural forces working against the survival of the traditional type of Sanskrit learning the idea of having a Sanskrit University at Darbhanga was conceived as early as in 1937 to arrest the speed of decadence in the field of Sanskrit education. Incidentally it may be mentioned that towards the close of the 19th century some foreign scholars had spelt out their views that three places in the whole country were eminently suitable for the establishment of Sanskrit Universities, namely, "Varanasi" (Kashi) in Uttar Pradesh, "Mithila" in Bihar and "Nadia Santipur" in West Bangal as in their view they had a rich tradition of producing erudite Sanskrit scholars who contributed their mite for the preservation and dissemination of knowledge treasured in the Sanskrit Shastras since time immemorial.[22] In 1938, the University Re-organisation Committee also gave serious thought to the problems of how to preserve and propagate Sanskrit learning and one of the recommendations made by this

22. K. S. D. S. University : At a Glance, p. 7.

Committee was that a Sanskrit University should be established at Darbhanga head-quarters of Mithila, which had a rich heritage in the field of Sanskrit education. Subsequently in 1955, 31 Members of the Legislature of old Darbhanga District submitted a memorandum to the then Chief Minister of Bihar, late Dr. Srikrishna Singh, demanding that the Mithila Research Institute should be converted into a full fledged University. The views expressed by the Sanskrit Re-organisation Committee also found support in the report of the Sanskrit Education Commission appointed by the Government of India under the presidentship of Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji in 1955-57. As a sequal to this, after a good deal of consideration and matured deliberation, the first Sanskrit University was established in the country at Varanasi in U. P. This paved the way for intensifying the campaign for the establishment of Sanskrit University at Darbhanga and the demand gathered momentum. Just in the nick of time, famous for his philonthropic disposition and munificence, the Maharajadhiraja of Darbhanga, late Dr. Sir Kameshwara Singh Bahadur, in keeping with the glorious tradition of Darbhanga Raj family, came forward with the princely gift of his ancestral palace known as "Lakshmishwara Vilasa Palace" for housing the Sanskrit University together with his personal Sanskrit library containing thousands of rare Sanskrit manuscripts. It was a historic day of the 30th March of 1960 when the last of the Maharaja's belonging to the illustrous line of Khandabala dynasty returned the symbol of regality to the altar of the same Goddess of art and learning Saraswati by whose grace, Pandit Mahesh Thakur, his ancester, had own it just four hundred years ago from the Great Emperor Akbar in recognition of his learning in Sanskrit.

This in collaboration with the active support of the then Chief Minister of Bihar late Srikrishna Singh, compelled the Government of Bihar to establish Kameshwara Singh Darbhanga Sanskrit University under Bihar Act VI of 1960. Subsequently, this Act was replaced by another Act called K. S. D. Sanskrit University Act, 1962 (Bihar Act 21, 1965). The University was established as a teaching-cum-affiliating University and its area of operation extended to the whole of State of Bihar. The University started functioning from 26th January, 1961 with M. M. Dr. Umesh Mishra as its first Vice-chancellor latter succeeded respectively by Dr.

S. V. Sohoni, I. C. S. (8.2.64 to 2.3.66), Kumar Ganganand Sinha (3.3.66 to 10.12.69), Shri S. K. Ghosh, I. A. S. and Shri K. K. Shrivastava, I. A. S. (11.12.69 to 25.12.70), Acharya Prabhakar Mishra (26.12.70 to 20.3.72), Shri Satish Chandra Mishra, I. A. S., (21.3.72 to 26.5.73), Acharya Devendra Nath Sharma (27.5.73 to 17.4.74), Dr. R. K. Sharma (18.4.74 to 18.4.80), Dr. Vidhata Mishra (19 4.80 to 9.7.80), Dr. Jaymanta Mishra (10.4.80 to 3.11.85) and Dr. Bramhachari Surendra Kumar (4.11.85-continued).[23]

Various University bodies, i. e., Senate, Syndicate, Academic Council etc. were constituted in the regime of Kumar Ganganand Singh. During his regime, the University arranged a series of learned lectures on the cultural and linguistic heritage of ancient India. This period is also marked for the rapid rise in the number of students in Sanskrit tols, Vidyalayas and colleges. Dr. R. K. Sharma strove hard to give this University proper shape and direction and brought it at par with other modern Universities in the State. During his period, the University witnessed spectacular development on all sides, notable among which are the following—

1. Post-Graduate teaching was introduced in Darshan, Vyakaran, Sahitya, Ved, Dharmashastra and Jyotish under the direct auspices of the University and provision of stipend of Rs. 100/-p. m. to each student enrolled was made and given effect to.
2. To maintain the standard of Post-graduate teaching, appointment of eminent traditional Sanskrit scholars who had specialised themselves in different branches of a Sanskrit shastras was made on payment of honorarium with the financial assistance received for the purpose from the University Grants Commission.
3. School of Foreign languages was started for teaching English, French, German and Russian. Teaching of music, Panji, Tantra and Yoga was introduced.

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23. Ibid., p. 23.

4. An Ayurvedic College was established as a constituent wing of the University for the teaching of Ayurveda in accordance with the syllabus prescribed by the Central Council of Indian Medicine.
5. A number of distinguished scholars in Sanskrit were invited as Visiting Professor to deliver lectures on different branches of Sanskrit learning.
6. Shalaka Pariksha was introduced and it was held each year on the 26th of January. Pandit sabha was organised and it was held regularly.

In the regime of Dr. Jaymanta Mishra's Vice-Chancellorship for the first time out of 75 affiliated colleges Government has declared 38 colleges as constituent colleges, induding 4 Govt. Sanskrit Colleges and Mithila Research Institute.[24]

Although the University was established a teaching-cum affiliating University, right from 1961 to 1973 it functioned purely as an affiiliating University and its primary function, by and large, was to exercise operational control over the affiliated Institutions and to disburse salary of teaching and non-teaching staff employed in these Institutions on the basis of grants received from the State Government and to conduct examinations from Madhyama to Acharya. It was in October, 1974, that Post-Graduate teaching was introduced under the auspices of the University in 6 subjects (i.e. Departments) namely Veda, Dharmashastra, Vyakaran and Bhasha Vigyan, Sahitya and Alankar, Darshan and Jyotish. The University has also set-up Sanskrit Natya Parishad with Rang Manch where Sanskrit dramas are staged on ceremonial occasions. The University is indeed proud of possessing 6500 old and rare manuscripts, some of which are more than thousand years old and are indeed rare. The University has set up a museum which has a rare collection of valuable articles donated by Maharani Adhirani Kamsundri of Darbhanga Raj. In the post-graduate departments there is a mini planetorium under the supervision of the Head of the Jyotish Vibhag, A language laboratory has also been set up in the Vyakaran and Bhasha Vigyan Department.

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24. Ibid., p. 9.

This is one of the oldest and most famous Sanskrit Universities of Modern India. Now, there are 8 Faculties in this University i. e., Veda-Dharmashastra, Philosophy, Grammar and Literature, Jyotish, Sociology, Ayurveda, Fine Arts and Drama and Puranetihasa. This University is proud of the publication of 85 rare books and the regular publication of a research Journal and Panchang. Every year the "Shalaka Pariksha" is organised by this University on 26th January in 6 Shastras, i. e., Dharmashastra, Grammar, Sahitya, Darshan, Jyotish and Veda and 1st, 2nd and 3rd position winners are awarded in cash.

BIHAR SANSKRIT EDUCATION BOARD, PATNA

Besides the Sanskrit Colleges, the K. S. D. Sanskrit University was also hitherto exercising operational control over Sanskrit tols and vidyalayas. In the year 1981 the Bihar Government has constituted and established a Board namely "Bihar Sanskrit Education Board" in Patna and now the management of Sanskrit tols and vidyalayas which has been reclassified as Prathmic-cum-Madhya, and Madhyamic under the "Sanskrit Pranali" making provision for teaching of modern subjects along with Sanskrit has been taken over by this Board.[25] The Board cunducts the examinations, namely, Madhyama, Prathma and Andhit Prathma. Thus, Primary and Secondary Sanskrit Education is usually run under Bihar Sanskrit Education Board.

Under the Education Department, Government of Bihar, there is a Director of Sanskrit Education for the supervision and development of Sanskrit Education in the State.

BIHAR SANSKRIT ACADEMY, PATNA

The Bihar Government has established the "Bihar Sanskrit Academy" in Patna on 28th February 1987 for the manyfold development of Sanskrit learning and research in the State. It has started working in right earnest under the chairmanship of Prof. P. N. Ojha. The Bihar Sanskrit Academy has set up a 22-member Advisory Committee to prepare

25. Ibid., p. 14.

a guideline to develop Sanskrit literature in the State and publish rare manuscripts.[26] The Academy has started a lecture series, namely, "Banbhatta Memorial Lecture Series". The Academy has decided to publish a half-yearly research Journal namely "Bharti" and the active work in this context is going on. On, Sanskrit Divas, 9th August 1987, Prof. Ojha, Chairman-cum-Secretary of the Academy elaborated the schemes taken up by the Sanskrit Academy in propagating Sanskrit language through easiest method for which a workshop is to be held in near future under the guidance of eminent scholar of Sanskrit Pt. Kapildeva Sharma.[27]

SANSKRIT SAMMELANA

The first Bihar State Sanskrit Sammelana had been organised on 20-22 March 1982 under the auspices of Vaidehi Sanskrit Parishad, Sitamarhi. On that occasion a Souvenir was also published whose editor was Pt. Shrutidev Shastri, managing editor was Shri Mohit Sharma and the members of the editorial board were Dr. Jayamant Mishra, Dr. Vidhata Mishra and Pt. Jayakanta Mishra.

SANSKRIT JOURNALISM

Sanskrit journalism has persisted and lived through the present times in Bihar. Following are the names of the noted Sanskrit Journals of the Bihar in the present Century. Mitrama (started by Sanskrit Sanjiwana Sabha, Patna in 1919), Mitra (Muzaffarpur), Vidyarthi (Patna), Dharmaniti-Tattvam (Patna), Sanskit Sanjiwan (Patna), Devawani (Monghyr), Patalashree (Patna), and Magadham (Arrah), etc. At present "Sanskrit-Sammelanam" from Patna by Bihar State Sanskrit Sahitya Sammelana, since 1962 (1987 is the Silver Jubilee year of this journal) and "Vishwa Manisha" by K. S. D. Sanskrit University, Darbhanga are published regularly. Pt. Chandradeep Sukla of Patna City is the chief editor of "Sanskrit-Sammelanam".[28]

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26 Hindustan Times, Patna, 28.5.87.

27. The Indian Nation, Patna, 11.8.87.

28. Sanskrit-Sammelanam, March 1985.

There are about 500 Sanskrit colleges, 49 Sanskrit middle schools, 57 primary Sanskrit schools, 217 Sanskrit high schools, 118 primary cum middle Sanskrit schools and 1640 inspected Sanskrit high schools in Bihar. Besides these, Sanskrit is taught, in the Post-Graduate, Graduate and Under-Graduate level in 6 general Universities (i. e. in Patna, Ranchi, Magadh, Bihar, Bhagalpur and Mithila Universities), about 507 Degree Colleges, 400 Inter Colleges, 3700 High Schools, 12000 Middle Schools, 50785 Primary Schools and 25 Central Schools. There is the provision of Sanskrit education in the Nalanda Open University also.

For the development of Sanskrit education the scholarship is given by the Bihar Government to the Sanskrit reading students at the rate of Rs. 12/- p. m. in general high schools and from Rs. 12/- to Rs. 24/- p. m. in Sanskrit high schools and Sanskrit Colleges.[29]

Under the New Education Policy, two Nawodaya Sanskrit Schools will be established in Bihar according to the suggestion given by the Education Minister of Bihar, Pt. L. N. Jha.[30]

ALL INDIA RADIO

All India Radio, Patna, Ranchi, Bhagalpur and Darbhanga play a great role for the propagation of Sanskrit in their different programmes. A. I. R. Patna broadcasts every month a Sanskrit drama and the "Surbharti" Sanskrit programme (talk, discussion, interview, book-review, Kavyapatha, story, Samayik Varta, i. e., current events and news in Sanskrit) on Ist and 3rd Friday of every month at 6.15 P. M to 6.30 P. M. Dr. Gangesh Gunjana and Dr. Inder Raj Vaidya's contribution to Sanskrit as the A. I. R. Patna's Programme Executive are well recognised.

Even in 1986 two international scholars of Bihar Acharya Brahmadatta Dwivedi "Baba" and Acharya Jaymant Mishra were awarded and honoured by the President of India for their special services to Sanskrit world.

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29. Bihar : 1985-87, Published by P. R. D. Bihar.

30. Aaj, Patna, and Hindustan, Patna, 19.8.86.

All this goes to show that, as in the ancient Bihar, in modern Bihar too, Sanskrit has been alive to impacts and ready to assimilate and enrich itself.

"MAY SANSKRIT LIVE FOR EVER"[31]

Decipherment Pandit
K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute
Patna

31. K. S. D. S. University : At a Glance, p. 20.
Last sentence of the speech delivered by the Late Maharaja Dr. Sir Kameshwara Singh of Darbhanga on 30.3.1960 while handing over the charge of his Palace and Sanskrit Library to the Government for Sanskrit University, Darbhanga.

Progress of Urdu & Persian Education in Bihar from 1912 to 1987

MRS. ATIA ASHRAF

Bihar has a glorious past and particularly its medieval period is important in the history because the Moghal conquest in the 16th century organised it as a separate Subah (Province) of the majestical empire in the year 1580 and continued until the fall of the magnificent kingdom and it also remained a significant centre of the activities of the early Sufis in India. Patna, which represents the ancient city of Pataliputra, played a vital role in the contribution to Indian languages and literatures and especially Persian deserved a place of importance whereas Urdu was in the very early stage of its development. Persian spirit, which had manifested itself in art, literature and culture of the country, had developed a faculty of liking among Hindus and Mussalmans of Bihar. Soon, with the passage of time, Bihar became a seat of Persian learning and played a role in the pageant of Indian literature and culture.[1]

Since[2] Persian continued to be an official language as well as a medium of expression for Sufis and for religious teachings by the end of the 19th century, it added much to the history of education, steady progress and growth of language and Bihar enjoyed the privileges in the making of the history of literature. Many Persian poets and noblemen of Delhi arrived at Patna and later settled for a short period here. These factors contributed to the formation, development and spread of Urdu language.[3] The centres of learning at Biharsharif, Manersharif, Rajgirh.

1. *Qoumi Awaz*, 1977.
2. *Akhabarat-e-Bihar*, 1984.
3. *Bihar Through the Ages.*

Barh, Sherghati etc. had been running since the Moghal and later Moghal time and further flourished around 1920's and hence, unlike Deccan, the political and social influence of Delhi continued over Bihar without break. Urdu has been proud of a continuons tradition and Bihar is too have produced works in prose and poetry which have elicited the appreciation of the Persian. Patna was the centre for scholars and poets for holding meetings; the author of the Subah-e-Sadique mentions that several personages flourished here at the time of Jahangir and the birth of the personages continued until the recent past.[1]

As Persian had been the common taste for both the Hindus and Muslims, Raja Ram Narayan 'Manzoom' became the most famous poet equally was his brother Raja Dhiraj Narayan too. A manuscript in Bankipur Library reveals the collection of 57 ghazals exhibiting their abilities and merits.[2] The other notable contemporaries were Khwaja Amiruddin Amin, Karim Bairiya, Shah Ali Akbar Awar etc. Urdu was not a regional or colonial language but it also established the evidence of being widely spread. In the initial stage it was known as "Rekhta" or "Khari Boli" and later even a manuscript was written in Maithili script. During pre-independence days the western ways of life and English literature could not spare Urdu and Persian but there was remarkable influences of the western impact on these languages. However, the monopoly of Persian could not be shattered as it had the influence on all the Indian languages and literature, not sparing even the newly born Urdu. Persian had an influence in the north and also affected the southern vocabularies by introducing words for administration, revenue and justice. Just before the usher of a new century, i. e., 20th, Urdu prose and poetry were simple in form but soon after religious, social and political movements brought about a change and during World War I, prose had kept pace with poetry and had largely expressed itself in short composition, by living writers.[3] Among those the best were the humorous stories of Anjum Manpuri. Sohail Azimabadi and Ilyas Islampuri have made successful studies of

1. *Bihar Through the Ages.*
2. *Farsi Aur Hindustan.*
3. *Bihar Through the Ages.*

village life and humble society. A rare and valuable contribution to historical literature has been made by Sabahuddin Abdur Rahman of Desna and also the most distinctive contributions in the realm of biographical and literary criticism have been made by Quazi Abdul Wadood and Principal Kalimuddin Ahmad who have introduced the most modern and latest methods of Western Criticism into Urdu.[1]

The Second World War could neither change the spirit of our poets nor the nature of the content of their poems nor does it seem to have influenced our fiction. Many of the poets and writers are those who had been writing from before. Their present mood and spirit whether socialistic, communistic or progressive, is due to the impact of events during the decades between the two wars. The decades have undoubtedly been very creative both in the sense of providing a fresh impulse and influencing the mass of literatures produced. This has been so in all the directions, including that of the traditional ghazals. Writers like Dr. Azimuddin Ahmad, Ijteba Hussain Rizvi, Parwaz Shahidi, Bedil Azimabadi, Razi, Jamil Mazhari, Ataur Rahman Ata Kakvi, Wali Kakwi, have almost burst the narrow conventional limits of its themes and contents.

In addition to many important existing institutions e. g, Madarsa-e-Zainabia at Phulwari Sharif, Madarsa-e-Saifkhan at Patna, many madarsas at Biharsharif, Bhagalpur and Rajgirh, madarsa of Badh Haqqani and Mahmud Danishmand at Barh were founded around 1930's in which every student used to read a number of books on Persian literature, romance and history.[2] The main factors which developed the Persian language and literature in Bihar during the early part of our period were the madarsas with or without boardings and well equipped libraries. The Govt. of Bihar also constituted a Madarsa Education Board in the year 1922 with some aims and objects and planned to introduce job oriented education and imparted it through the channel of affiliated madarsas.[3] This could not only help enrich Urdu, Persian and Arabic but also the

1. *Zuban-o-Adab.*
2. *History of Bihar*, Vol. III Part II.
3. Madrasa Education Board (Personal Collection).

tremendous success achieved by the Board showed a continued increasing tendency in the number of affiliated madarsas and converted the State managed Board into an autonomous State Level Apex institution in the month of March 1979 and granted equivaleney to the Degrees & Certificates awarded by the Madarsa Education Board right from beginning classes to M. A. Scholarships and stipends have been introduced to bring the students at par with school and college students and it is under proposal to intrduce job oriented education for madarsas' students also.

For information of the general mass of the State, salient features of the Bhiar State Madarsa Education Board, Patna are enlisted below:—

1. Annual Budget for the year 1978-79 : Rs. 1.08 crore.
2. Annual Budget for the year 1985-86 : Rs. 7.15 crore.
3. Madarsas teachers are now being paid their salary at par with school teachers.
4. Equivalancy of the Degree & Certificate conferred upon by the Madarsa Education Board are as under :—

(i) Fazil	M. A.
(ii) Alim	B. A.
(iii) Moulvi	I. A.
(iv) Fauqania	Matric
(v) Wastania	Middle.

5. Payment of 1036 affiliated Madarsa are being made regularly and payment to 278 Madarsas are expected in near future.
6. Degrees of Fazil & Alim examinations from 1969 to 1985 are ready and very shortly Jalsa-e-Taqseem-e-Asuad will be held.
7. Tabulation, Original Marks and results have been computerized.
8. Scholarships and stipends are being paid regularly, steps have already been taken to bring Madarsa students at par with college and school students in respect of grant of scholarships and to increase the number and amount also.
9. The Board with Govt. grants assists affiliated Madarsas in construction of Madarsa buildings, procurement of furniture and books for library.

10. Madarsa Board is also planning to introduce job oriented education in the Madrasa.[1]

The origin of Urdu is traced out of Sauraseni Prakarit and especially the Bihari Urdu borrowed the characteristic features of its origin i. e. vocabulary and structure of sentences in its formation stage. In a couple of centuries the repeated revolutions in Delhi and Western India stimulated the influx of learned people into the province of Bihar and not only this the flow of immigrants increased but also the influx again stimulated the intellectuals of the province. It is definitely unlike Deccani Zuban and Delhi Urdu. By this sequence of changes the language became stiff, difficult and unfamiliar Persian words.[2] The subject-matters for the poets and writers mostly based upon the canons of religion and mysticism, Persian started losing popularity and Urdu slowly but steadily got its way into Maktab and Madarsas and primers and didactic poems were taught to the younger generation, and later became a medium of instruction. These poets created an atmosphere for social gatherings and moshaeras were frequently organised. This created a love for poetry and also became a source of development and refinement of the language. It became enriched with suitable expressions, flexibility and rhythm and Urdu continued to grow especially in Bihar.

To revive the lost glory of Persian, the Government established an Institute namely "Arabic & Persian Research Institute" in the year 1955 and made it a centre for traditional scholars and modern researchers.[3] This institute is located in the Musallahpur area (Sharif Colony). Though this being first of its kind in Bihar, provides opportunities for teachers' training in Urdu and Persian for acquainting themselves with modern development in their respective field of knowledge but no satisfactory result to this effort could come out. Similar situation is prevailing in schools where no proper teaching is imparted. Madarsas and maktabs are no exception and how the matter regarding potentialities for further development of the language is possible where even the primary education of

1. Personal interview (Madarsa Board).
2. *Bihar Through the Ages.*
3. *Bihar Past & Present* (Souvenir).

Persian has gradually lost its existence. The library of "Arabic & Persain Institute" is not well equipped with the modern facilities and techniques and due grants are not being made available at the ripe time. Not only this, out of seven posts of lecturers and two posts of professors sanctioned as far back as in 1960's three of lecturers and one of professor have been falling vacant for quite a long time for some reason or other. Further many misfortunes have attached to it and could not become a praiseworthy Institute.

The Govt.'s decision in recent years to stop the deterioration of Persian & Urdu languages in Madarsas and Maktabs has especially been focussed in rural areas and a large number of neglected madarsas in Bihar could have been affiliated so far and out of them 1036 are being made regular payment and 278 are also expected in near future and thus a drastic change is expected provided "Language Development Scheme" is implemented by and large.[1]

Delhi and Deccan are going faster in the field to promote language and literature and "Bureau for Promotion of Urdu" has launched many schemes and projects and a few of them are also being expedited in Bihar and in no case it is lagging behind. It is justly proud of the 20th centuries scholars of Arabic, Persian and Urdu. Renowned Maulana Syed Sulaiman Nadvi of Desna who expired in 1950's (1953 is perhaps the exact year of death) has not only enriched Urdu by his contributions in lucid and simple style, graceful and idiomatic structures adorned his literary works. He rendered services by popularising Muslim Cultures treasured in Persian tomes. His contemporay Maulana Monazir Ahsan Gilani (d. 1956) made strenuous efforts for delightfully and interestingly presenting his works and articles. His scholarship and profound theological knowledge was acknowledged by one and all. Their predecessors, as Abdul Jamal Mohammad Sokhan (d. 1936), were basically Persian poets and Urdu was also skilled by them in Hindi Bhasha. Jamal Sokhan's regular contributions in Al-Punch enjoyed massive popularity in his days in Bihar and is still a source of concrete information.[2]

1. *Rajya Bhasha Karmachari Sangh* (Souvenir).
2. *Al-Punch.*

In recent years many books on different foreign languages have been translated and adopted into Urdu. Urdu Anjuman Taraqqui Board, Bihar has completely revolutionized the style. It was established and smoothly run by Quazi Abdul Wadood in the year 1936 which undertook innumerous works was later taken over by Gholam Sarwar in 1951 which practically remained defunct and was also divided into two parts in 1975, one was under the charge of the former and the other under Dr. Abdul Moghini. Besides this, a large number of institutions have sprang up namely Emarat-e-Sharia, Reyasat Anjuman Taraqqui Urdu, Muslim Educational Society, Halqua-e-Adab, Urdu Youth Forum, Qaumi Urdu Youth Morcha, All India Urdu Writers & Journalist Forum, Sab Rang and Bihar Urdu Writer's Forum etc. all having their head offices located at Patna. Urdu Academy was established in 1972 with the objective of multi-dimensional development of the language. Providing economic assistance to Urdu literary organisations, Urdu public libraries, writers and poets for publishing their works, and acknowledging the works of high calibre, conducting moshaeras, seminars and symposia on literary problems etc. are the important laid down plans of the Academy. Though there is some financial problems, it is doing the best in the healthy atmosphere.[1]

It was the efforts of Mrs. Indira Gandhi to establish Urdu Taraqqui Board during her regime and took a decisive and firm step for the promotion of Urdu[2] and even included in the Manifesto of the Congress and it has also been included in the 15 Point Programme of the Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi for the promotion of the languages of the minorities.

Urdu journalism is also making a head-way towards the overall development but during the last two decades Urdu newspapers are not in economically sound position and most of them are facing crises and likely to be closed down any day owing to the paucity of fund and the least circulation but some of them have proved their existence. The Qaumi Awaz has utterly flopped these days. The Eisar has wound up a year ago. The Sangam and Sada-e-Aam are no longer the popular papers.

1. Information from Academy.
2. *Zubon-o-Adab* (1981).

Presently, the Qaumi Tanzeem is rendering considerable services and it is susprising that Bihar has the highest number of registered Urdu newspapers but these papers have chosen their own pockets and localised. "Bihar Ki Khabren" published by the Government and Zaban-O-Adab, these two journals introduce the new faces who have stepped in the literary fields. These Urdu papers began their publications around 1950 and the quarterly, monthly, weekly and daily journals were brought out and here journalism did not lag behind like any other provinces. "Saree" from Muzaffarpur, "Al Mojeeb", Phulwarisharif, "Mofahim", "Sohail" and "Morcha" from Gaya, of course, have been performing their moral duties in their respective localities.[1] These journals could not widen their scope owing to paucity of funds, resources and also for some other reasons. As Journalism fails to achieve the target of the promotion of language it could not become a good source to compile a history in sequence through writings and highlight Urdu movements and it weakened to perform any yeoman's service in a particular direction. National library, Calcutta also does not have any worthwhile compilation of Urdu newspapers. The Al-Punch, a weekly periodical has thrown a considerable light on the general tone and writing of its age which was not of standard value, itself. The performance of Anjuman Islamia at Arrah established in 1868 and the Anjuman Tahzib in 1869, the Bihar Scientific Society 1868 at Muzaffarpur, could hardly be examined in the Al-Punch.[2] Though Urdu newspapers continue to be the prime source of news in both the urban and the rural areas and considered to be the most believed one; it is also being an important source of collected literary materials and by the reason Urdu newspaper is highest in number in Bihar.[3]

The Mohammadan Education Society of Patna (estd. 1884) is still alive and in the same year Mohammadan Anglo Arabic School which observed centenary last year was established in Patna City on the principle of Aligarh Collegiate School but it could not start a literary movement so far the revival of Mohammadan learning so as to make Bihar once

1. *Bihar Through the Ages.*
2. *Ibid.*
3. Interview with *Sada-e-Aam* (daily).

again a centre of religion and Urdu learning. Muslim High School, Shamsul Hoda Madarsa, Ayub Urdu Girl's High School, Zakir Hussain High School, Sir Syed Girl's High School, Oriental College, Patna City, Al-Hafeez College, Arrah, Z. A. Islamia College, Siwan, Kazmi Begum Girls' College, Millat Girls' College, Haroon College, Zakir Hussain Teachers' Training College, mostly based on donations, contributions and Waqf properties, are rendering services for the Muslim community and Urdu development.

Just before independence Urdu has attained an enviable position amongst the numerous languages of India. Many Bihari writers and poets of this period have been ranked by critics with the great writers of Upper India. The literary productions, books and criticism, historical and biographical writings, philosophical books, short stories and dramas have confirmed the hopes entertained by Vincent Smith that Urdu language resembles English language in simplicity and flexibility of its syntax.[1] The sweeter and more suitable Hindi, Persian and Arabic works commended themselves for cultures and the scope of the subjects dealt with by Urdu authors widened to a considerable extent. Works in all the poetical branches and prose works on history, biography, music, mathematics etc. were composed in Urdu by the scholars of Bihar. Daera-e-Adab, Bazm-e-adab, Bazm-e-Sukhun and many other were working in recent years with the object of spreading Urdu literature and propagating Urdu language. Urdu painting and publishing concerns and newspapers of the age have influenced the growth of Urdu language and literature on quite a different line than those of the preceding decades. The ideas of national and political freedom have found adequate expression in writings of the authors of the period. Tazkara-e-Gulzar-i-Ibrahim, a Persian work written by a historian of Patna has biographical sketches of many Urdu poets of the preceding decades of Bihar.[2]

Rasikh Azimabadi, Ahsan Gilani, Shad Azimabadi, Imadad Imam Asar, Syed Sulaiman Nadvi, Abdul Mannan Bedil, Shamsuddin, Shams

1. *Bihar Through the Ages.*
2. *Ibid.*

Maneri, Sohail Azimabadi, Quateel Danapuri, Jamil Mazhari, Akhtar Orainwi, Quazi Abdual Wadood, Kalimuddin Ahmad are the most important personages and stalwarts of Urdu because of their individually launched literary movements[1] and also received encouragement from all the corners of Adabi Duniyan for their tremendous work and achievements. The moshaeras, which were once a forum and publishing agencies led to the development of Urdu. The language in refined form came to be regarded as the language of polite society[2] but prose failed to keep pace with poetry because Persian was then the medium of composition and even it was in use in formal letter writting by the learned classes. The moshaeras were, until recent time an institution peculiar to Urdu. It was introduced in Urdu under the influence of the Persian nobles and poets, and so well it suited to the genius of time, men and language that once introduced it eclipsed every other form of literary activity and this Urdu underwent several set-backs in modern history but it emerged victorious later and successfully carried through all the ordeals. It suffered its first setback when Bihar was amalgamated with Bengal. Bihar's identical position was lost. Thus the progress of Urdu hampered and the danger of elimination of Urdu was felt everywhere.

The amalgamation of Bihar and Bengal brought English language in the Urdu working society and the beginning of the 20th centrury saw a gradual but swift penetration of English language in the Urdu knowing families so much so that in a short period English was seen everywhere in correspondences, social platforms and public speeches. The Wahabi Movement[3] has also contributed a great deal towards the progress of Urdu prose in Bihar. As the movement was religious-cum-political and solely aimed in removing the yoke of the British rule from the Indian neck, the movement utilised the common Indian language Urdu to educated public opinion in its favour and subsequently a large amount of good prose sprang up on account of the movement. Maulana Syed Welayat Ali,

1. *Forsi Aur Hindustan* by Dr. Nazir Ahmad.
2. *Tazkira-e-Shora.*
3. *Comprehensive History of Bihar*, Vol. III.

Maulana Enayat Ali, Maulvi Faiyaz Ali etc who belonged to Sadiqpur[1], Patna, are among those who in support of the movement wrote numerous short books and periodicals in Urdu which are of immense religious, political and literary value. While dealing with Urdu prose writing in Bihar, an important link between the ancient and the modern Urdu prose is Zabdatul Kheyal. Before the beginning of Great War, the traditional outlook in literature was most conspicuous but not weak and unhealthy.

The Khudabaksh Oriental Public Library, situated in the very heart of Patna has assumed national importance and is excellent for the collection of rare books, manuscripts and other objects of Urdu, Arabic and Persian in thousands.[2] Some of the manuscripts that I came across are Shahnama which carries the seal of Jahan Ara, Tuzk Jahangiri, Masarul Umra, Rukhat-e-Alamgiri, Badshahnama Aein-e-Akbari, Iqbalnama-e-Jahangiri, Lohabul Albab, Anwari Diwan, and so on so forth. To preserve, maintain and run it as an institution, and reorganise and develop it on modern lines, the Union Government decided to enact a statute for its healthy administration.[3] The library published a quarterly journal and undertakes editing of manuscripts and other major and minor projects for adding colourful feathers in the development of Urdu and Persian literatures. Kitab Khana, Bankipur, Govt. Urdu Library, Bihar Research Society and Patna University Libraries, also preserve some but important manuscripts and are doing some commendable works.

K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute established in 1950 with a view to achieving emotional integration and augmenting cultural unity among the different groups of the country is one of the important libraries which is passing through a period of consciousness, cultural renaissance and one of the most brilliant outcomes.[4] It aims at the correct revelation of our past by conducting original researches. It also records Persian manuscripts and a few rare collection of cultural value and also makes efforts to pre-

1. *Bihar Through the Ages.*
2. Personal interview.
3. *Eighteen Years of Freedom*, Ministry of Education.
4. Annual Report of K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, 1960,

serve scattered manuscripts throughout the state if the owners of the same are pursuaded to part with them. There are also many private institutions and small libraries in Bihar like Darbhanga, Bhagalpur, Manersharif, Phulwarisharif, etc. having Urdu and Persian manuscripts.

In present phenomenon, Urdu, which is a lovely and sweet tongue is a symbol of national integration and the state government have profoundly felt the necessities of this language for the official purposes and imposed it as second official language on fifteen districts of the State keeping in view of Muslim proportion in the first phase of its implementation. Actually it is not a due place that has been granted to Urdu but it deserves some more privileges and needs to be enforced in the whole of the State. The proper teaching of Urdu is not being imparted in schools and recently as it appeared in the news that there is an apathetic attitude of the government towards minority's Maktabs and Madarsas are not being looked after properly and the building stands in dilapidated conditions.[1] There are also the cases of merging of two or more Madarsas into a single unit. Several examples in Gaya district alone are enough to mention.

But apart from many shortcomings, the Rajya Bhasha Act 1950 was duly amended and appended Article 3 now being known as Rajya Bhasha Amendment Act 1980. His Excellency, the Governor of Bihar exercised his powers that from the date of the amendment of the Act and further exercised his powers that from tne date of the issuance of this notification Urdu should remain enforced in 15 districts, namely 1. Purnea 2. Katihar 3. Saharsa 4. Darbhanga 5. Sitamarhi 6. Madhubani 7. Begusarai 8. Bhagalpur 9. Dhanbad 10. Muzaffarpur 11. Gaya 12. Nawada 13. Samastipur 14. East Champaran 15. West Champaran, as second official language for the benefit of Urdu knowing people and since then it is in frequent use in offices for the following purposes[2] :—

1. To receive all the applications in Urdu and their replies in same language by the Govt. offices.
2. To accept and register all the documents in Urdu script in the offices of the Registrars.

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1. *The Qaumi Tauzeem* dated 25.9.1987.
2. Personal interview in Rajya Bhasha Deptt.

3. Expeditious steps for publication of the important rules, regulations, notifications and necessary guidelines in Urdu language.

4. All Govt. tenders to be published in Urdu.

5. Urdu translation of the gazettes.

6. Display of important signboards and nameplates in Urdu.[1]

For strict enforcement of the language, the Govt. has established an office in the Rajya Bhasha department comprising of one Deputy Director (Urdu), three Rajya Bhasha Sahayak (Urdu', one Urdu typist and one peon. At the district, sub-division and block levels, the post i. e. one translator, one asst.-translator, one Urdu/Hindi typist and one peon have been specifically mentioned for each and the total number of posts created by Rajya Bhasha Deptt. for this section is 294 of traslators, 294 of asst. translators 176 of Urdu typist, 118 of Hindi typist and 15 of peons. The appointments, have been made on these posts so far. But this has only become a source of employment and the persons appointed against the posts are intensely suffering from many complexes and justice has not been awarded to them in regard to salary and other service conditions. They have ranges of poor scale from Rs. 535 to 580 at the basic and the recommendation of the IVth Pay Commission has been ignored by the Govt. for them and thus higher degree holders do not prefer to apply for the posts as it lacks charms and keeping in veiw the present pay scale etc.[2] It is a major setback in the steady progress of Urdu. As per the executive order Director Rajya Bhasha, District Magistrate, S. D. O. & P. V. P. are the incharge of Urdu section, and except it has solved the problems of unemployment to some extent, the translators neither get adequate stationery nor there is proper sitting arrangement for them and they carry out all other works except for which they have been appointed. An advisory committee under the presidentship of Shimael Nabi has beenformed under an executive order for examining from time to time the implementation of Urdu as 2nd official language and its successful enforcement and development. The committee organises regular meetings at all the levels and in Patna

1. (a) *Akhbarat-e-Bihar.*
   (b) *Zuban-o-Adab.*
2. *Rajya Bhasha Karamchari Sangh* (Souvenir).

Chief Minister, Chief Secretary and all the departmental commissioners and the officials of Rajya Bhasha including the members of the advisory committee attend the meetings and conferences. They remove the stones from the way by discussing every pros and cons of the development. Urdu cell of Rajya Bhasha has translated many acts into Urdu and many under publications and processes. Cuttings of Urdu newspapers are referred to their respective departments, for early disposal.

The following is the break up of the working in all the offices of the 15 districts where performance of Urdu as 2nd language is praiseworthy :—[1]

Sl. No.	Name of district	Number of received applications	No. of documents in registrar's office.	No. of gazettes translated in Urdu	No. of name plates and sign-boards displayed	No. of issued orders and advertisement	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1.	Purnea	62,139	59,454	349	2,158	8,443	Till Sept. 86
2.	Samastipur	47,754	3,957	—	996	887	"
3.	Darbhanga	43,204	3,858	—	105	5,662	"
4.	Gaya	25,498	5,446	127	1,757	1,108	"
5.	East-Champaran.	19,156	12,164	—	408	2,459	Till July 86
6.	Katihar	10,907	433	4	163	3,094	"
7.	Bhagalpur	10,820	1,712	—	338	2,165	Till Aug. 86
8.	Saharsha	8,963	492	12	318	169	Till July 86
9.	Madhubani	7,516	11,075	—	535	1,223	Till Aug. 86
10.	Begusarai	6,293	1,939	—	1,775	231	Till July 86
11.	Muzaffarpur	5,661	3,033	17	340	1,013	Till Aug. 86
12	Nawda	5,122	1,776	—	396	182	"
13.	Sitamarhi	4,897	1,105	—	190	1,181	"
14.	Dhanbad	2,396	—	—	44	174	"
15.	West-Champaran	1,860	2,917	—	66	835	"
	Grand Total	2,63,886	1,05,723	469	9,549	30,826	

Data Collected from Rajya Bhasha Deptt.

It is also under proposal regarding 2nd official language before Rajya Bhasha to observe Urdu Divas in the month of April every year in which an award of Rs. 5000/- each i. e., 1. Kalimuddin Ahmad Award in criticism, 2. Quazi Abdul Wadood award in Research, 3. Krishna Chander Award in Novel, 4. Firaq Gorakhpuri Award in Poetry, 5. National Integration award in Poetry, have to be given away to Muslims and non-Muslim Urdu knowing poets, and literateures for their outstanding literary works.

The teaching of Urdu from primary to doctoral stages is satisfactory to a considerable extent and all the Universities in Bihar are imparting education in the subject but teaching of Persian is not upto mark and has limited to three Universities namely Patna, Bihar and Magadh whereas Ranchi, Mithila and Bhagalpur Universities have been deprived of imparting higher education in Persian.[1] Both the departments are running short of hands in all the Universities. The strength of students has increased comparatively and their demand of proper teaching arrangements needs justice. All the government officials and staff are trying their level best for the development of Urdu as 2nd official language and making it parallel to Hindi and also making efforts to use it in official files. The employees of Rajya Bhasha have also formed an Union namely Rajya Bhasha Karamchari Sangh. Bihar.

While drawing conclusion, I must say that in spite of many setbacks, it has a progressive tendency and shall further prosper to a great extent provided there is no prejudiced decision of the Govt. No language can be confined to a limited group or community but it is an integral force and establishes secular atmosphere in the country. Language is a beautiful confluence of culture, religion, thoughts and belief and it is important force to keep us united.

Persian Scribe
K. P. J. Research Institute
Patna

1. Matter collected from Khudabaksha Library, Patna.

Contribution of Bihar to the Indian National Movement

Dr. ANIL KUMAR

In ancient times Bihar played a very important and significant role in the history of India. It contributed much to the origin and growth of religious and philosophical ideas. Jainism and Buddhism were founded in Bihar. It was here in this glorious land of Bihar that the first experiment of empire building was made which engrossed almost the whole of India. Some of the finest specimens of sculpture and art came from Bihar. Its contribution in the field of literature, intellectual and scientific developments are also very significant. It should, however, not be assumed that its contributions were confined to the ancient period only. In modern times also its achievements are many. It played a vere significant and important role in the field of freedom struggle and national movement.

In the eighteenth century the East India Company of Britain established its sway over India. For the first time in her history, a commercial joint stock company belonging to an alien people whose homeland lay at a distance of several thousand miles from India assumed the reins of government and began to guide her destiny. The two decisive battles of Plassey in 1757 and of Buxar in 1764,[1] sealed the fate of India. The Britishers took the fullest advantage of the weaknesses and follies of of Indian rulers and became masters of the whole of India with the help of Indians themselves. But in due course British domination in India and the growth of new administrative institutions established by the Britishers led to dissatisfaction and discontent among the people and generated a feeling of disaffection in them which manifested itself in the

1. K. K. Datta, *History of the Freedom Movement in Bihar*, Vol. I, p. I,

form of outbreak of anti-British rebellions in different parts of the country including Bihar.[1] The people Bihar in general were not reconciled to the imperialist domination of the Britishers and they putforth formidable resistance to the alien rule whenever and wherever there were opportunities for it.

There was a smouldering volcano of discontent waiting for bursting into an open rebellion in Bihar against the Britishers even before 1857.[2] In 1831-32 the discontent found expression in Kole Uprising in Chotanagpur. More formidable than this was the revolt organised by the Santhals in 1855-57 under the leadership of four brothers of village Bhaganadihi of Santhal Paragana.[3] The Wahabi Movement, essentially religious in character, had also an important role to play in Bihar's struggle for freedom. Its political object was to free the country from foreign domination. The founder of this movement was Syed Ahmad in India. It had a base camp at Patna.[4] Its important leaders Inayat Ali belonged to Bihar.[5] During 1850-58 its leaders hatched a conspiracy to overthrow the British rule in India. It was however, ruthlessly suppressed by the British forces.[6]

In 1845-46 during the course of the First Anglo-Sikh War there was a plan at Patna to assail and uproot the British authority. Referring to it a British officer wrote in 1857, "even so lately as 1846 its (Patna's) Mahomedan nobility had endeavoured to take advantage of our balanced fortunes on the banks of the Sutlej. They had then succeeded in corrupting some of the native officers and sepoys stationed at Dinapur."[7]

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1. K. K. Datta, *op cit*, p. 1.
2. R. R. Diwakar (ed), *Bihar through the Ages*, p. 641. K. K. Datta, *op cit*, p. 3.
3. K. K. Datta, *op cit*, p. 6.
4. R. R. Diwakar, *op cit*, p. 648.
5. *Ibid.*
6. K. K. Datta, *op cit*, p. 83.
7. *Mutiny of the Bengal Army*, p.174 quoted by K. K. Datta in *The Freedom Movement in Bihar*, p. 3.

Even William Tayler, the Commssioner of Patna division till 1857 referred to it thus. "For some years past, this city (Patna) has been considered a very sink of disaffection and intrigue. In 1846 a dangerous plot was detected, in which many of the Mahomedans of Patna, and the neighbouring districts were concerned and in which attempts had been made to tamper with the sepoys..... that the conspiracy of 1846, was but a branch of a more general plot is the opinion of many who are well acquainted with the country, and the object of that conspiracy was the destruction of the English, the overthrow of British Government and the restablishment of a Mahomedan dynastry, is, I imagined beyond all doubt."[1] There is evidence to prove that Kanwar Singh of Jagadishpur, the Bihar hero of the Movement of 1857, was also involved in the anti-British plot of 1845-46.[2]

The uprising which offered the most serious and formidable challenge to the British power in India was the Revolt of 1857. Bihar was one of the most important centres of this upheaval. It was indeed the most formidable challenge to British imperialism in India. According to British historians the outbreak of 1857 was a 'Mutiny'. Charles Ball, G. W. Forrest, T. C. Holms, M. Innes, J. W. Kaye, G. F. Macmunn, G. B. Malleson, C. T. Metcaff, Earl Robert and others used the term 'Mutiny' to describe the upheaval. The term, however, is misleading.[3] There is no doubt that the army was mainly involved in the revolt but its causes were deeper and it was not limited to army alone.[4] The rebellion was not merely a military mutiny. It was a combination of military grievances, national hatred and religious fanaticism against English occupation in India. "The native princes and soldiers were in it. The Mahomedans and Hindoos forgot their old religious antipathy to join against the Christians."[5] The rebellion spread throughout the greater

1. K. K. Datta, *op. cit.*, p. 3.
2. K. K. Datta, *Biography of Kunwar Singh and Amar Singh*, pp. 67-69.
3. Tara Chand, *History of Freedom Movement in India*, p. 40.
4. *Ibid.*
5. Justin McCarthy, *A Short History of Our Own Times*, London, 1883, p. 170.

part of the north and the north-west of Indian peninsula. It was a rebellion of native forces against English power.[1] British historian Vincent Smith also admits that "Discontent and unrest were widely prevalent among the civil population and in several places, population rose before sepoys at those station mutinied. It is, thus, inappropriate to give the designation 'mutiny' to this great upheavel of 1857. It it, however, not appropriate to call this great upheaval the National War of Independence as most of the Indian historian have done. It has to be admitted that the war against the British was not inspired by any sentiment of nationalism, for in 1857, India was not politicaly a nation,[2] as Dr. Tarachand observes. He says "it is a fact that the Hindus and Muslims cooperated, but the leaders and the followers of the two communities were moved by personal loyalties rather than loyalty to a common motherland." Nonetheless, the upheaval of 1857 was a war of liberation of India from the yoke of the foreigners. For the foreigners had given mortal offence to the dignity and self-respect of the previous ruling class, the class which had exercised social influence and carried the burden of administration, and had antogonised the masses by his oppressive land revenue policy and by the economic measures which had ruined their art and crafts.[3] Dr. R. C. Mazumdar also does not agree with the view that the Revolt of 1857 was the National War of Independence.

We, however, need not enter into the controversy here whether the Revolt of 1857 was the National War of Independence or not. It has been discussed in detail by eminent historians in India and it may be said that the chapter is not yet closed. I agree with the view of Dr. Tarachand that "on the whole, the rising of 1857 was an attempt—the last attempt of the medieval order—to halt the process of dissolution and to recover its lost status.'"[4] He further says that the grievances of the army alone were not responsible for the Revolt of 1857. There was a general dis-

1. Justin McCarthy, *op. cit.*, p. 170.
2. Tarachand, *op. cit.*, p. 42.
3. *Ibid.*
4. Tarachand, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

content among the upper class, and the lower classes were also dissatisfied and apprehensive that their religion and faith might be lost. But it should not be presumed that religious and ritualistic considerations alone were responsible for it. It was broadly a political revolt aimed at the elimination of foreign rule from India, though it did not involve the whole of India and Indian population. It was, however, a desperate attempt of an old order, forcibly deprived of its power by the foreigners, to assert itself.[1]

Whatever be the character of this revolt Bihar played a very important role in it. Kunwar Singh of Jagdishpur whose exploits against the imperialist form a highly fascinating account of bravery and leadership, was the hero of this Revolt in Bihar. Undaunted by heavy odds and defying the weight of age this old man of seventyfive, with his numerous faithful and brave comrades joined the mutinied troops marching from Danapur to Arrah on the 27th July, 1857,[2] and gave a stubborn challenge to the British army at many places. It is highly significant to note that Kunwar Singh's activities crossed the borders of Bihar and saught the co-operation of the prominent leaders and rebel troops of other parts of India, viz. Mirzapure, Banda, Kalpi, Faizabad, Kanpur, Lucknow, Azamgarh etc.[3] It should be noted that he had behind him the support and sympathy of many during his stay in U. P. not to speak of the people of his own area. Worn out by fatigue and incessant fighting, this great hero of the Revolt of 1857 in Bihar died after giving a severe repulse to the British force led by Captain Le Grand on the 23rd of April 1857.[4]

His followers, however, continued to cause immense anxiety to Company's Government for several months under the leadership of his brothers, Amar Singh, Harkrishan Singh and Jodhan Singh who setup a parallel government at Jagadishpur.[5] This example greatly influenced

1. *Ibid*, p. 47.
2. K. K. Datta, *Kunwar Singh and Amar Singh*, p. 117.
3. *Ibid*, pp. 145-51.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 161.
5. *Ibid*, pp. 182-83.

the rebels everywhere and there is enough reasonable ground to believe that there were connecting links between the risings in Chotanagpur, Shahabad, Patna, Bhagalpur and Tirhut.

Another serious challenge to British authority in Bihar came from the Adivasis in Chotanagpur, during the last five years of the Nineteenth century, led by Birsa[1], Munda of village Chalkand who had become famous because of his relegious zeal and popularity as Birsa Bhagawan. This movement meant a crusade against the socio-economic anomalies to which his people had become subject due to the changes which appeared in the wake of foreign rule. He was, however, captured and ultimately died in jail in June, 1900. His memory is still fresh in the hearts of the Adivasis in Chotanagpur[2].

These uprisings, however, cannot technically, and infact, be said to be 'national' in character because they were mostly local in character and did not comprise all the sections of the people and they were ultimately suppressed by the superior might of the British Government. The real national movement started in the latter part of the seventies of the nineteenth century when people in different parts of the country were inspired by the national feeling and began to think of establishing an All India National Organisation. This dream was ultimately realized in the year 1885 by the establishment of the Indian National Congress which was the most important event in the history of national movement in India.

The decade preceding the birth of Indian National Congress is highly significant in the history of Bihar which was the part of Bengal Presidency at that time. It witnessed the establishment of the first newspaper in English—*The Bihar Herald* in1874, and also the first two political associations—Bihar Land Holders Association and Bihar Indigo Planters Association in 1878.[3] These organisation were established to safeguard the vested interests of the land holders and indigo planters. They

1. K. K. Datta, *Freedom Movement*, p. 96.
2. R. R. Diwakar, *op. eit.*, pp. 249-51.
3. *History of Indian National Congress in Bihar* p. 48.

opposed many provisions of the Rent Bill and wanted to extort concessions from the Government.[1]

The establishment of Indian National Congress in 1885 was the most significant event in the history of Indian Nationalism. It witnessed a new wave of enthusiasm and activities in Bihar and large number of delegates from Bihar attended its meetings. On the direction of Indian National Congress Bihar could form Provincial Congress Committee in 1908.[2] This Committee used to hold Provincial Political Conferences inviting as its members and delegates not-only Congressmen but also others who were in agreement with the Congress on public matters of provincial interest. The first session of the Bihar Provincial Congress was held at Patna in 1908 with Ali Imam as its President.[3] Mazharul Haque, one of the makers of modern Bihar, played a leading role in this session. In 1906 Bihari Students' Conference was formed with a view to further the cause of nationalism.[4] The year 1912 is memorable in the history of Bihar which saw the creation of Bihar as a separate province and the Indian National Congress for the first time held here its annual meeting.[5]

The impact of revolutionary nationalism was also felt in Bihar. While the Congress was following the constitutional means to attain self-government, a section of the nationalists followed revolutionary methods through underground and secret activities. Thus originated the revolutionary activities in Bihar also. The bomb explosion at Muzaffarpur in 1908 was striking incident in this connection.[6] On the 30th April, 1908 explosion of a bomb caused the death of two European ladies. The bomb was meant to kill Kingsford, the District Judge of Muzaffarpur. The two youths—Khudiram Bose and Prafulla Chaki were found responsible

1. *Ibid.*
2. *Ibid*, pp. 77-78.
3. *Ibid*, p. 83.
4. *The Comprehensive History of Bihar* Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 261.
5. *History of Indian National Congress in Bihar*, p. 85.
6. K. K. Datta, *Freedom Movement in Bihar*, p. 112.

for this incident. The former was hanged to death on the 11th August, 1908 and the latter shot himself dead when he was about to be captured.[1] Ranchi, Deoghar and Dumka were also the important centres of activities of the revolutionary party.

The Home Rule Movement which came to be known as Swaraj or self-government, had also its impact on Bihar. A branch of the Home Rule League was started in Patna on the 16th December, 1916. Mazharul Haque in his presidential address explained the aims and objects of the League and called the people to fight for self-government.[2] In Bihar Home Rule League became very popular in every district except Champaran where Gandhiji had started a movement against the indigo planters. At a meeting held on the 17th February, 1918, it was decided to organise village campaign and to collect subscription. Mrs. Annie Besant visited Patna twice in the year 1918, to ascertain the views of the local Home Rule leaders regarding the reforms.[3] As a result of agitation some elements of self-government were introduced in the Government of India Act of 1919.[4]

Bihar played an important role under the constructive programme of Mahatma Gandhi. His Champaran Mission is an event of utmost significance in the history of mankind. Here Gandhiji, after his return from Africa, made his first successful experiment in India's new nationalism with its emphasis on Truth and Non-violence.[5] In North Bihar the peasants were bound to cultivate indigo for their European landlords. The European indigo planters used to oppress them in all the transactions and exposed them to hardship and tortures of diverse kinds. Their occasional protests were going waste. At last the deliverance from the miseries came through the efforts of Gandhiji and his fellow workers of Bihar. The outcome was the Champaran Agrarian Bill[6] which served to

1. *Ibid.*, p. 112-16.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 163.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 163-64.
4. *History of Indian National Congress in Bihar*, p. 145.
5. *The Comprehensive History of Bihar*, p. 262.
6. *Ibid*, p. 265.

alleviate the miseries of the ryots of Champaran. The patriotic leaders of Bihar, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Dr. Anugrah Narayan Sinha, J. B. Kripalani etc. were the chief associates of Mahatma Gandhi in Champaran.[1]

After World War I, the Government came out with the Montford Reform and the Rowlatt Act instead of giving India satisfactory political reform. It forced Gandhiji to non-cooperate with the British Government. As a protest against these, Gandhiji asked his contrymen to offer non-violent *Satyagrah* by observing *hartal*. In support of Gandhi's call *hartal* and other demonstrations were staged in different parts of Bihar.[2] Mahatma Gandhi's visit to Bihar in December, 1920 gave much impetus to it.[3] On the 6th February, he inaugurated National College.[4] Students were persuaded to leave government schools and colleges and join the national institutions started by the Congress. People were encouraged to take their cases in local arbitration courts in place of law courts run by the Government. In February, 1921 the movement spread to the Oraon and Munda Adiviasi inhabitants of the Ranchi district. Strikes were observed in the Government Press, East Indian Railways, Colliaries at Giridih and also by the police constables in Gaya district.[5]

On the occasion of the landing of Prince of Wales at Bombay on the 17th of November, 1921, a peaceful *hartal* was observed throughout Bihar.[6] On the 10th of December, various volunteer organisations were declared illegal under the Criminal Law Amendment Act and many non-cooperation leaders were arrested. A complete *hartal* was observed on the occasion of the visit of Prince of Wales to Patna on December 22nd and 23rd.[7] The 37th session of the All India Congress was held at Gaya in December, 1922 under the presidentship of C. R. Das. The main issue

1. *Ibid*, p. 266.
2. *History of Indian National Congress in Bihar*, p. 191.
3. Rajendra Prasad, *Mahatma Gandhi in Bihar*, 1949, p. 42.
4. *History of Indian National Congress in Bihar*, pp. 214-15.
5. *The Comprehensive History of Bihar*, pp. 268-69.
6. K. K. Datta, *Freedom Movement in Bihar*, p. 399,
7. *Ibid*, p. 341.

here was "Council Entry". Deshbandhu C. R. Das was in favour of it and suggested a plan of obstruction from within the Council. But Gaya Congress decided against it and Bihar remained "No changers".[1] After Gaya Congress, Dr. Rajendra Prasad became Secretary of the All India Congress Committee. The Tana Bhagats who attended the Gaya Congress, received much impetus for further national work on their return to Ranchi. In 1923 Bihar took part in the heroic *Satyagrah* at Nagpur. Funds and volunteers were sent there when Shri C. R. Das and Shri Motilal Nehru formed the *Swaraja* Party. In Bihar also a *Swaraja* Party unit came into being.[2]

In the Civil Disobedience Movement (1930) of Mahatma Gandhi, Bihar's role also was exemplary and prominent. The Provincial Congress Working Committee issued a programme on the 20th January for the celebration of the Independence Day and it was done in remarkable manner.[3] The tour of Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru of Saran, Champaran and Muzaffarpur districts was also a source of inspiration to the people of Bihar.[4] Saran and Champaran were first in the field to start Salt *Satyagrah*.[5] Other districts soon followed suit. Some stirring incident took place at Patna, Bihpur in Bhagalpur district, and at a few places in in the Monghyr district.

Patna witnessed one of the most heroic scenes in the face of the naked violence on the part of the police. Nakhas Pind, a place about two miles to the east of the Mangles Tank in Patna City was selected for violation of Salt Laws by making salt.[6] A procession of Satyagrah is started from the Congress office to reach Nakhas Pind. But the police obstructed the processionists. Another procession was also stopped near Gulzarbag and the leaders were arrested. After that the Congress leaders

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1. *The Comprehensive Histroy of Bihar*, p. 271.
2. K. K. Datta, *op. cit.*, p. 449.
3. K. K. Datta, *Freedom Movement in Bihar*, Vol. II, pp. 48–51.
4. *Ibid*, p. 67.
5. *Ibid*.
6. *Ibid*, p. 71.

of Patna decided to send out batches of volunteers three times a day informing the D. M. accordingly. The police perpetrated merciless atrocities on the volunteers, most of whom were seriously wounded, made a "savage attack" on late Prof. Abdur Bari.[1] On the 23rd April a procession of volunteers proceeded without obstruction to Nakhas Pind, where salt manufacture continued smoothly. In this way the salt *satyagrah* at Patna was a success.[2]

In Biphur there was almost a reign of terror due to the cruel police activities. When the situation turned grave Dr. Rajendra Prasad along with some other leaders went to Biphur on the 9th June, 1930. While he was addressing a meeting there the police committed terrible atrocities on the people including the leaders.[3] The liberals of Bhagalpur condemned the action of Government and five newly elected members of the Legislative Council resigned in protest.[4]

In the Monghyr district two batches of volunteres started on the 17th April to break Salt Law, one for Gadphura and the other, for Chauki under the guidance of Dr. Shrikrishna Sinha and Nand Kumar Sinha respectively.[5] Activities for breaking Salt Law began on the 20th April and continued for two or there days in the face of the opposition from the police. Both the leaders were arrested. But even after that salt continued to be manufactured.[6]

The 53rd session of the Indian National Congress was held at Ramgarh in 1940 under the Presidentship of Abul Kalam Azad. The Congress passed the resolution on *satyagrah* moved by Jawahar Lal Nehru. Gandhiji in his speech emphasised the importance of *ahimsa* and non-violent *satyagrah* and asked the people to be ready for the inevitable struggle.[7]

1. K. K. Datta, *Freedom Movement in Bihar*, II, p. 76
2. *Ibid*, p. 79
3. *History of Indian National Congress in Bihar*, p. 392
4. *Ibid*, p. 393
5. *Ibid*, p. 384
6. *Ibid*, p. 385
7. K. K. Datta, *Freedom Movement in Bihar*, II, p. 372

Some nationalist of the Forward Bloc disliked the compromising attitude of Congress and held an All India Anti-Compromise Conference at Ramgarh under the presidentship of Subhas Chandra Bose.[1] In his Presidential Address Abul Kalam Azad emphasised the need of Hindu-Muslim unity in India. But inspite of all his emphasis on communal unity, communal differences were increasing particularly after the Lahore session of Muslim League in which it was declared that the Muslims in India were not in minority but a nation and they must have their homeland and their state.[2]

The Quit India Movement (August Revolution, 1942) is one of the stirring movement of modern Indian history. In this epic struggle Bihar played an illustrious and heroic role with uuflinching determination and unbending spirit. In Bihar there was a thrill of inspiration and a spontaneous and marvellous response to this great upheaval. The Congress Working Committee concluded its seisson on the 8th August, 1942 at Bombay and passed the famous "Quit India" resolution repeating with all emphasis the demand for the withdrawal of the British power from India.[3] To put this resolution into action the Committee resolved to start the mass struggle on non-violent lines under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi. In addressing the Congress after this Mahatma Gandhi suggested for the people the slogan "do or die".[4] In the early hours of the morning of the 9th August Mahatma Gandhi and members of the Working Committee were arrested. Numerous arrests followed that day in all parts of the country. At Patna Dr. Rajendra Prasad was arrested on the 9th August. Other leaders of Bihar were also arrested in quick succession. The important persons arrested were Phulan Prasad Varma, Mathura Prasad, Dr. Shrikrishna Sinha, Dr. Anugrah Narayan Sinha, Mahamaya Prasad Sinha etc.[5]

The Government established ordinance rule in Bihar. It issued number of notifications declaring unlawful such bodies as Provincial

1. *Ibid*, pp. 372-73
2. *Ibid*, pp. 377-78
3. *History of Indian National Congress in Bihar*, p. 499
4. *History of Indian National Congress in Bihar*, p. 508.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 504.

Congress Working Committee and its branches, Provincial Committee of the Congress Socialist Party etc[1]. Restrictions were also imposed on the publication of news[2]. Inspite of the repressive measures taken by the Government mass upheaval could not be checked. The students of of Bihar played a heroic role in this struggle, what they did then would ever be regarded as a classic example of heroism and martyrdom at the altar of liberty. Thousands of inspired people with bands of students marched in a procession with a view to hoisting the National Flag on the Patna Secretariat building at about 5 P. M. of 11th August. Under the orders of the District Magistrate of Patna fourteen rounds were fired on the approaching students, as a result seven in the forefront were killed and twenty four seriously injured. These seven martyrs were Uma Kant Prasad Sinha, Ramananda Singh, Satish Prasad Jha, Jagpati Kumar, Devi Pado Chaudhary, Rajendra Singh and Ramgovind Singh[3]. The killing of seven students gave more impetus to the movement which soon took a violent turn. Hence at a meeting held on the 12th August, 1942 at Patna, resolutions were passed to destory all communications, cutting railway lines, telegraph and telephone wires etc, and to take control of police stations, courts, jails and other government institutions. Soon the people began to act on these lines and they damaged the railway lines, damaged telegraph and telephones and at some places burnt police stations.[4] Government made use of various methods of repression to terrorise the people and to suppress their movement. Hence many leaders of Bihar began to pursue secret and underground activities with sole aim of removing the British authority.[5]

Some of the leaders of Bihar such as Shri Jayprakash Narayan, Shri Ramanandan Misra, Sri Yogendra Sukul, Shri Suraj Narayan Singh, Shri Krishna Ballabh Sahay, Shri Gulab Sonar, Shri Shaligram Singh put in the Hazaribagh jail from before or during the movement, came out

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1. *The Comprehensive History of Bihar* Vol., II, Pt. I, pp. 285-86.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 86.
3. *The Searchieght*, August 12, 1942.
4. *History of Indian National Congress in Bihar*, p. 513.
5. K. K. Datta, *Freedom Movement in Bihar*, Vol. II, p. 266.

of jail in a miraculous way on the 9th November, 1942.[1] Shri Jayprakash Narayan issued a circular in January, 1943, containing the programme of the new phase of movement. He suggested intensive work among the masses—peasants in the villages and the workers in the factories, mines, railways and elsewhere and called upon the students to participate in such works.[2] Nepal became the centre of these revolutionaries. Jay-Prakash Narayan organised there an 'Azad Dasta' with the cooperation of some other leaders for the service of the country.[3] Some Congress workers who were outside the jail carried on silent constructive works such as to observe Independence Day, starting Swaraj Loan Fund, to stop payment of revenue, to bycott courts and organise panchayat system.[6]

Lord Wavell took on as Governor General of India in October, 19·3, when the constitutional deadlock and communal discord were the two serious problems before India. The Muslim League stiffened its demand for Pakistan, and the Provincial Muslim League was enthusiastic about it. Meanwhile Lord Wavell announced the British Government's decision to hold elections to the Central and Provincial legislatures and after elections to bring into existence an Executive Council which would have the support of main Indian parties.[4] The Congress contested the elections and was successful. So, on the 30th March, 1946, the Governor of Bihar sought Shrikrishna Sinha's assistance in forming a ministry in Bihar. Dr. Shrikrishna Sinha and Dr. Syed Ahmad took the oath of office and secrecy. Later on some other members were also added to the ministry.[5]

The Hindu-Muslim riots which broke out in 1946 caused violent reaction in Bihar in the form of communal disturbances, which entailed

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1. *The Comprehensive History of Bihar*, Vol III, Pt. I, p. 290.
2. *History of Indian National Congress in Bihar*, p. 544.
3. *The Comprehensive History of Bihar*, p. 291.
4. *The Comprehensive History of Bihar*, p. 292.
5. *Ibid.*

suffering and losses on the Muslims.[1] Immediate presence of Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru and quick measures taken by the Congress Government in Bihar checked it.[2]

The opening session of the Constituent Assembly was held at New Delhi on the 9th December, 1946 under the Presidentship of Dr. Sachchidanand Sinha. Meanwhile Atlee then the British Prime Minister announced his decision to transfer power to Indians by June, 1948. Lord Mountbattan the new Governor General outlined a plan of the procedure for transferring power into Indian hands.[3] The most serious defect of this plan was the proposed partition of India. Though opposed to this plan, Congress accepted it taking into consideration the prevailing conditions in the country. In Bihar though some people had regret for the partition of the country, on the whole, people reconciled themselves in "a spirit of realism".[4]

Research Fellow-cum-Assistant Director
K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute
Patna

1. *Ibid.*, p. 294.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 294.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*

Peasant Movements in Bihar (1912-1987)

Dr. N. M P. Srivastava

Bihar is predominently an agricultural State. But there is grave inequality in the distribution of land which has promoted rural tensions. The landlords and rich peasants possess most of the lands and the poor peasants have to sell their labour for sustenance. The structure of society is such that the rich are becoming richer and the poor poorer. The government has enacted several legislations but they have proved ineffective as they have loopholes.

The peasants of Bihar waged numerous battles since creation of a new province of Bihar in 1912 against the antiquated and repressive tenure system, indebtness, increasing taxation, gradual impoverishment and inhuman treatment by the cruel landlords - both the English and the native.

One of the important uprisings was the anti-planters agitation by the indigo cultivators of Champaran district which shook the British Raj in India and brought Mahatma Gandhi to the forefront of the movement.[1]

Before establishment of the British rule in India the cultivation of indigo was the exclusive product of North Bihar. Its cultivation on European method began in Champaran in 1782. The planters with their influence secured proprietory rights over the lands of ryots and forced them to cultivate indigo over three kathas per bigha of their lands, popularly known as Tinkathia system. The Bettiah Raj also provided various concessions to the planters and after the death of the Maharaja a planter was appointed its manager. The oppression of tenants then began in a systematic manner.[2]

1. N. M. P. Srivastava, *Bihar Men Rashtriyata Ka Vikas*, Patna, 1974, pp. 45-61.
2. Rajendra Prasad, *Autobiography*, Bombay 1957, pp. 87-89.

The planters then began to force the peasants to divert best part of their holdings to indigo cultivation and those defying them were subjected to brutal atrocities. As they were very much influential they got the Tenancy Act amended in their favour to compel the tenants to divert a part of land to indigo and to pay enhanced land revenue in case of exception. They realised from the tenants about Rs. 25 lakhs by way of forcible exaction and the government officials extended them full support in this venture. Later, when the Germans manufactured synthetic dyes the indigo cultivation became non-profitable and planters resorted to the enhancement law. But when the import of the German dyes was stopped at the outbreak of the First World War in 1914 they again began to coerce the tenants to grow indigo.

The tenants of Champaran were always in revolt against the oppressive system. In 1867 the tenants of Lalsaraiya factory rose into revolt but it was crushed with a heavy hand. It led the Government to establish a small cause court of two judges at Motihari but its decision went against the tenants as it held that they had violated the indigo contract.[1]

Again in 1907 the tenants of Tilhara factory revolted against the refusal of the management to recognise the transfer or sale of certain holdings which resulted in murder of its manager, Mr. Bloomfield.[2] The tenants of Sathi, Parsa, Mallahia, Bariya, and Kundia stopped supply of labour to press the authorities to pay indigo compensation, abwab[3] and and cart rate. They took up their cause in an origanised way, presented petitions to the government and appealed to the High Court against their conviction. The High Court set aside most of their apeals in March 1908 but local officers solved the issues to some extent by making compromise between the tenants and the planters.[4]

Peasants of Bettiah subdivision launched a mass movement towards the close of 1908 which spread to 400 square miles. They boycotted

1. K. K. Datta, *Freedom Movement in Bihar*, Patna, 1957, Vol. I, p. 73.
2. B. B. Mishra (ed.), *Select Documents on Mahatma Gandhi's Movement in Champaran* 1917-18, Patna, 1963, p. 15.
3. Cesses assessed on land over and above the original rent,
4, B. B. Mishra, op. cit., p. 15,

the factories and threatened the planters with dire consequences. The Government of Bengal in a report sent to the Government of India accepted the seriousness of the situation and recommended a confidential inquiry into the agrarian conditions and the reported defects in the system governing business between factories and tenants.[1] Consequently the Government set up a one-man inquiry committee headed by Mr. W. R. Gourlay[2] to conduct a confidential inquiry into the indigo affairs of Champaran district.

In 1909 Gourlay submitted a report to the Government of Bengal recommending an increase in the rate paid for the indigo to the extent of 12.5 per cent over those conceded in 1878, payment to the raiyats of full rate of all lands sown even if indigo failed or half rate if they grew for themselves any other crop on such land, reduction of reserved indigo areas from three kathas to two per bigha, reduction in the period of contract and restriction on the terms of contracts. The period of contract was not to be exceeded beyond nine years and the term of contract was to be applicable only to indigo and no other crops. The Lieutenant Governor discussed the matter with the representatives of planters and local officers which resulted in amicable settlement of the whole issues and no fresh trouble started for the next three years.[3] But the government did not make public the Gorlay report as it went against the planters.[4]

In 1912 the Editor of *the Beharee*, Maheshwar Prasad,[5] wrote nine articles under tne caption "The Planter and the Ryot in Bihar" condemning the oppressive conduct of the planters and demanded publication of the Gourlay report and also release of prisoners convicted during the Bettiah disturbances of 1908. In one of his articles Maheshwar Prasad wrote, "The relation between the planters and the ryots has become so strained that it is high time that the Government should intervene and

1. Bengal Revenue Department (confidential , file No. 19 of 1909.
2. W. R. Gourlay was the Director of Agriculture and formerly the Subdivisional Officer of Bettiah.
3. Government of Bihar and Orissa, Political (special), file No. 1571 of 1917.
4. *Pratap*, April 6, 1916.
5. For details about Maheshwar Prasad see N. M. P. Srivastava, "A Distinguished Journalist", *The Searchlight*, February 10, 1980,

put a stop to all the high handedness, oppression and persecution implied in what is khown as the planters zuloom. The situation has really become critical and the existing state of affairs which perpetuates planters' oppression, sometimes with the indirect connivance of the district officers, should not be tolerated any longer. That the ryots should have suffered so long without their grievances being redressed and life and property secured from the planters' encroachments, cannot be explained except on the ground that public opinion in our Province was not so strong as would make such a thing impossible, and that the educated Biharees have not yet been initiated into the value and arts of agitation. But this is hardly any justification for the Government to withhold its hands of assistance and relief, from the large bulk of the poor cultivators suffering at the hands of the indigo planters. It cannot be said that the Government is ignorant of the unhappy and unfortunate plight of the ryots under the Planter Raj. A cursory examination of the working of criminal court, of the Tirhut Division, for the last quarter of a century, will reveal a state of afiairs which no Government, much less the British Government well intentioned as it is towards the people of this country, can contemplate with equanimity. Villages after villages have been reducәd to destitution, respectable people have been done to their very worst, and all this, on account of the advent of the indigo planters of the Tirhut division. We know of instances in which well-to-do people have been reduced to poverty, on account of the costly litigation they had to carry on with planters, to save their izzat.

"Mr Gourlay was eventually deputed by the Government to make enquiries into the whole trouble......He conducted the enquiries in a most satisfactory manner, and he interviewed some non-official gentlemen also on the subject. The late Babu Brahmadeo Narain Sinha rendered valuable assistance in the enquiry......The Government was moved more than once to submit the report, but it declined to do so......We have reasons to believe that the report contains a severe condemnation of the tactics employed by the planters in coercing the tenants to their own terms of cultivation."[1]

1. *The Beharee*, September 15, 1912.

Maheshwar Prasad met the Collector of Champaran, George Rainy on December 1, 1912, to express his desire to make an inquiry into the grievances of the ryots. The Collector permitted him to do so but Maheshwar Prasad could not pursue the matter as he was sacked by the management of *the Beharee* soon after.[1]

The matter was taken up then by Brajkishore Prasad[2] when he became the member of the Bengal Legislative Council in 1910 and the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council in 1912. He also raised the issue at the Bihar Provincial Conference held at Bankipore Patna on April 10, 1914 and at Chapra on April 3, 1915. He moved a resolution in the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council on April 7, 1915, requesting the Lieutenant Governor in Council to appoint a committee of qualified officials and non-officials to look into the matter but the motion was defeated by 27 to 4 votes.[3]

At the Lucknow session of the Indian National Congress in 1916 Rajkumar Shukla[4] and Brajkishore Prasad met Mahatma Gandhi to acquaint him with the problem and requested him to move a resolution in the Congress on the tyranny of the planters. But Gandhiji refused saying that he could not give his opinion without seeing the condition with his own eyes.[5] Brajkishore Prasad then moved the resolution which was carried unanimously. It said "This Congress most respectfully urges upon the Government the desirability of appointing a mixed committee of officials and non-officials to enquire into the agrarian trouble and the strained relations between the Indian ryots and the European planters in North Bihar and to suggest remedies therefor."[6]

1. Government of Bihar and Orissa, Political (special) File No. 1571, 1917.
2. For detail about Brajkishore Prasad see N. M. P. Srivastav, Brajkishore Prasad: The Soul of Public Work in Bihar, *The Searchlight*, January 14, 1979.
3. Bihar Land Revenue Proceedings A, Nos. 22-23 of December, 1915.
4. For details about Rajkumar Shukla see N. M. P. Srivastav, "Rajkumar Shukla : a farmer who washed away the stain of indigo", *The Searchlight* June 3, 1979.
5. M. K. Gandhi, *An Autobiography*, Ahmedabad, 1959 reprint, p. 298.
6. *Report of the Indian National Congress*, 1916 pp, 68-69.

Ultimately on the persuation of Rajkumar Shukla Gandhiji visited Bihar in 1917 to have a first hand information on the conditions of the ryots. He met first of all the secretary of the Planters' Association and the Commissioner of Tirhut division and both of them advised him to leave Tirhut forthwith as being an outsider he had no business to come between the planters and the ryots. Undaunted Gandhiji went with his co-workers to Motihari on April 15, 1917 and was served with a summon to take his trial the next day for disobeying orders to leave Champaran.[1]

The trial began on April 16, 1917. He pleaded guilty to having disobeyed the order to leave Champaran and read a brief statement as follows : "With the permission of the Court I would like to make a brief statement showing why I have taken the very serious step of seemingly disobeying the order passed under Section 144 of Cr. P. C. In my humble opinion it is a question of difference of opinion between the Local Administration and myself. I have entered the country with motives of rendering humanitarian and national service. I have done so in response to a pressing invitation to come and help the ryots, who urge they are not being fairly treated by the indigo planters. I could not render any help without studying the problem. I have, therefore, come to study it with the assiatance, if possible, of the Administration and the planters. I have no other motive, and cannot believe that my coming can in any way disturb public peace and cause loss of life. I claim to have considerable experience in such matters. The Administration, however, have thought differently. I fully appreciate their difficulty and I admit too that they can only proceed upon information they received. As a law-abiding citizen my first instinct would be, as it was, to obey the order served upon me. But I could not do so without doing violence to my sense of duty to those for whom I have come. I feel that I could just now serve them only by remaining in their midst. I could not, therefore, voluntarily retire. Amid this conflict of duties I could only throw the responsibility of removing me from them on the Administration. I am fully conscious of the fact that a person, holding, in the public life of

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1. M. K. Gandhi, *op. cit.*, pp. 302-303; also see Frances Watson, *The Trial of Mr. Gandhi*, pp. 65-70.

India, a position such as I do, has to be most careful in setting an example. It is my firm belief that in the complex constitution under which we are living, the only safe and honourable course for a self-respecting man is, in the circumstances such as face me, to do what I have decided to do, that is, to submit without protest to the penalty of disobedience.

"I venture to make this statement not in any way in extenuation of the penalty to be awarded against me, but to show that I have disregarded the order served upon me not for want of respect for lawful authority, but in obedience to the higher law of our being, the voice of conscience."[1]

Consequently, at the intervention of the Lieutenant-Governor the case against Gandhiji was withdrawn and he was allowed to conduct his inquiry. He, with the help of his co-workers, took statements of over 25,000 tenants both at Bettiah and Motihari.[2] The ever growing number of ryots coming to make statements increased the wrath of planters who moved heaven and earth to counteract the inquiry. One day Gandhiji received a letter from the Lieutenant-Governor, "Your inquiry has been prolonged; should you not bring it to an end ?" Gandhiji replied that the inquiry was bound to be prolonged, and unless and until it resulted in bringing relief to the people he had no intention of leaving Bihar. He pointed out that it was open to the Government to terminate his inquiry by accepting the grievances of the ryots as genuine and redressing them, or by recognising that the ryots had made out a prima facie case for an official inquiry which should be instituted immediately.[3] Consequently the Lieutenant-Governor, Edward Gait announced the setting up of an Inquiry Committee led by Frank Sly and also made Gandhiji a member of the Committee. At the instance of Edward Gait the committee made unanimous report which was accepted by the Government and an agrarian bill was passed in accordarce with the recommendations of the

1. Ibid , p. 305, also *Modern Review*, Vol. XXI Nos 1-6, 1917, p. 605.
2 Among co-workers of Gandhiji wers Brajkishore Prasad, Rajendra Prasad, Ram Navami Prasad, Darnidhar, Janakdhari Prasad and Gorakh Prasad.
3. M. K. Gandhi, op. cit. p. 312.

committee.[1] It resulted in abolition of Tinkathia system and cancellation of enhancement to the extent recommended. The Government asked the British Raj to refund to the ryots 25 per cent of the amount which was to be paid back by the planters and to realise it from them. As a result the planters sold their lands, factories and livestocks and left Champaran.

The peasants of Bihar became emboldened and more conscious towards their socio-economic conditions with the glorious success in ending the Planters Raj from Champaran and the Russian Revolution of 1917 instilled in their minds new concepts – social and economic.[2] It resulted in peasants unrest in different parts of the country which manifested through three anti-Zamindar movements—Kisan Sabha movement in Bihar and the United Provinces, the ryot association in Bengal and the anti-begar agitation in Punjab and the Central Provinces.

As a result of the success of the Champaran Movement the Indian National Congress assumed a mass character and a large number of peasants visited the Delhi session of the Congress in 1918. The Amritsar session of the Congress was presided over by Hasan Imam,[3] an eminent Congressmen of Bihar, where for the first time the Kisan Sabha moved a resolution on the demands of the peasantry. It runs : "That peasants all over India be declared actual owners of soil they cultivate; that peasants should be subjected to tax, but not to rent; that in provinces where Zamindari tenure prevails, the ownership of lands be bought up and given

1. The committee, which submitted its report to the Government on October 4 1917, was led by Mr. F. G. Sly Commissioner of Central Provinces. Its members were Gandhiji, two members of the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council, Raja Harihar Prasad Singh and Mr. D. J. Reid and Mr. G Rainy, and Deputy Secretary to the Finance Department of the Government of India. Harihar Prasad Singh resigned on account of ill health before the committee assembled and in his place Raja Karyanand Singh of Banaili another member of the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council became its member.
2. N. M. P. Srivastava, *Growth of Nationalism in India, Effects of International event*, Meerut, 1973 pp. 101—135.
3. For details about Hasan Imam see N. M. P.Sivastav, 'Syed Hasan Imam Nationalist Extraordinary', *The Searchlight*, December 3, 1978.

over to the tenants.[1] Commenting on the resolution the then Director of the Intelligence Bureau wrote in his report, "...Russian pro-Bolshevik practice, in the matter of division of land would appeal to him (the Indian peasants) very much".[2]

During the Non-cooperation Movement the Kisan Sabha devoted much attention to Bihar, Orissa and the United Provinces fomenting grievances of the peasants against landlords and the Government[3] and peasants started holding their annual conferences. A conference of the Purnea Kisan Sabha held on February 13 and 14, 1922, was attended over by 8,000 cultivators. It was chaired by Rajendra Prasad.[4] At another conference at Bhagalpur on April 30 and May 1, 1922 Swami Vidyanand announced that he would list the grievances of the peasants to be placed before the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council.[5] Again the third Bihar Provincial Kisan Conference which was held at Gaya on August 4 and 5, 1922 formed a committee to supervise establishment of Kisan Sabha in all districts, subdivisons and villages.[6]

The suspension of the Non-cooperation Movement by Gandhiji gave new stimulus to the agrarian movement and the peasants became more vocal and determined to win their points. It brought to the fore Swami Sahajanand,[7] a dandi sanyasi, to organise the peasants resistance movement. Sahajanand, on March 4, 1928, founded the West Patna Kisan Sabha aimed at fighting against the socio-economic exploitation of the peasants by the landlords.[8] On November 18, 1929 prominent non-cooperators of the province called a conference at the Sonepur fair and set up the Bihar State Kisan Sabha, a central organisation, aimed at opposing the

1. Government of India, Home Department progs., January 1921.
2. Ibid.
3. Government of Bihar and Orissa, Political (special), File No. 169 of 1928.
4. DIG, Crime and Railway to Chief Secretary, GBO, February 26, 1921.
5. Political (special), GBO, File No. 84 of 1921.
6. Political (special), GBO, file No. 417 of 1922.
7. For detail about Sahajanand see N. M. P. Srivastav, "Sahajanand Saraswati : A Social Reformer", *The Searchlight*, July 1, 1979.
8. Swami Sahajanand Saraswati, *Mera Jivan Sangharsh*, Bihta (Patna), 1952, pp. 321-22.

proposed Bihar Tenancy Act which had anti-peasants provisions.[1] Swami Sahajanand became the president of the Sabha, Shrikrishna Sinha general secretary, and Jamuna Karji, Guru Sahay Lal and Kailash Behari Lal became divisional secretaries. All prominent Congressmen such as Rajendra Prasad, Brajkishore Prasad,[2] Ram Dayalu Singh, Sheoshankar Jha, Dip Narain Singh of Hajipur, Baldeo Sahay, Jagat Narain Lal and Girish Tiwari became its members.

The Sabha tested its victory when the Government had to withdraw the Bihar Tenancy (Amendment) Bill on account of vehement opposition from the Sabha members and the Swarajists in the Council. The Government representative, Mr. Sifton, remarked in the Council on February 19, 1930 that any amendment to the Bill must be made with the consent of the landlords and the tenants. In view, therefore, of the desire of the Raiyat Party in the Council and the recommendation of the select committee, the Government had decided not to proceed with the Bill any further.[3]

When Gandhiji launched the Civil Disobedience Movement Swami Sahajanand postponed the activities of the Sabha to enable active participation of the people in the movement. But the Government took advantage of it by entering into an agreement with the landlords to form a fake committee of the landlords, peasants and workers and tried to scuttle the activities of the Sabha.

The formation of the Congress - Socialist Party in 1934 and its active participation in the Kisan Movement strengthened the movement as the Congress-Socialist had radical programmes. The Swami began to think in term of abolition of Zamindari. He realised then that a zamindar even made of clay is more dangerous[4] and began to promote ill-feeling between the landlords and the tenants through his speeches referring prominently to the fate of the Czar and the capitalists in Russia.[5]

1. Political (special), GBO, File No. 281 of 1929.
2. The name of Brajkishore Prasad was removed from the list at his request,
3. *The Indian Annual Register*, July, Dec. 1930, p. 268.
4. Swami Sahajanand, op. cit., pp. 443-444.
5. Political (special,, GBO, File No. 16 of 1935.

Sahajanand Saraswati then specialised on the economic conditions of the peasantry and began to talk in terms of revolt. At a meeting he said, "The Czar of Russia oppressed his ryots and sent many of them to Siberia as punishment. A time came when the Czar was sent to Siberia by his ryots where he had sent thousands of them. The Zamindars did not realise the troubles of the Kisans on whose earning they were enjoying all sorts of comforts.[1] In a confidential note the District Officer of Saran wrote to the Commissioner of Tirhut Division, "I an distinctly of opinion that the so-called Swami is deliberately trying to bring about a Communist revolt on the Russian model.[2]

The Swami also propounded that the Zamindari should be abolished without paying compensation to the Zamindars. To quote his thesis, "Many are in favour of abolishing the Zamindari system but they hold the view that the Zamindars should receive compensation. But I do not understand this. Why should they receive any price ? Did they in 1793 purchase the Zamindari from the Kisans after paying any price ? Will history bear witness to this ? With a single stroke of pen the whole of the land was taken away from the Kisans and made over to the Zamindars who during the Mughal rule served as commissioned agent in realising the revenue.[3]

The foundation of the All India Kisan Sabha[4] by the Kisan Sabhaites, the Congress Socialists, the Forward Bloc and the Communists marked the beginning of class consciousness throughout the country. Its first conference was chaired by Swami Sahajanand Saraswati who

1. Ibid.
2. District Officer of Saran to Commissioner of Tirhut Division, February, 24, 1935.
3. In 1939 a pamphlet, *Zamindari Kyo Utha Li Jaye*, containing the philosophy of Swami Sahajanand was circulated. It had been published by the Pragatisheel Pustakalaya, Bankipore, Patna.
4. In the beginning it was named as All India Kisan Congress but later it was changed as All India Kisan Sabha in accordance with the recommendation of the All India Kisan Committee which met at Niyamatpur in Gaya district on July 14, 1937.

maintained that there should be no compromise between the landlords and the peasants except dispossession of Zamindars of their lands.[1]

The movement had its great impact on the policies of the Congress Ministry[2] formed in 1937 and the Ministry of Shrikrishna Sinha took radical measures to reform the tenanacy legislation which was in some respects in advance of the tenancy laws of other provinces. The Bihar Ministry provided great relief to the tenants by cancelling all enhancement in rent done between January 1911 and December 1936 and reducing them in the same proportion in which the prices had gone down. Besides, it also provided total or partial remission of rent in cases where the soil had deteriorated by sand deposit or submersion under water or by another specific cause or where the landlord had neglected the irrigation arrangements which he was bound to maintain; reduction of rent where there had been a fall in the average local prices of staple food crops (not due to a temporary cause) during the currency of the present rent; and settlement of fair rent in other suitable cases. It also provided that the rent so settled should not be liable to enhancement for 15 years.[3]

The new legislation enabled the under-tenants to acquire occupancy right in their raiyati-holding if they had cultivated the land for 12 years as under-raiyat. Such raiyats were given rights similar to those of an occupancy raiyat in respect of trees, bamboos.[4] The Ministry also enacted the Bihar Restoration of Bakasht Lands and reduction of arrears of rent legislations to help the peasants in the restoration of lands which had been sold in execution of decrees for arrears of rents during the period of depression.[5] Besides, it enacted the Champaran Agrarian (Amendment) and Chotanagpur Tenancy (Amendment) Acts to meet the special needs

1. M. A. Rasul, *A History of the All India Kisan Sabha*, Calcutta, 1974 pp. 4-5.
2. The marvellous success of the Congress at the polls in Bihar, United Provinces and the Central Provinces was due to Kisan Movement. The Kisan verses the Zamindar or the poor verses the rich were the main issues.
3. *The Indian Annual Register*, July-December 1938, pp. 246-247.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.

of the local areas.[1] The Ministry also enacted the Agrarian Debt Relief Act which fixed 9 per cent as the minimum interest payable on debts.[2]

With the enactment of the radical agrarian legislations the landlords started dispossessing the tenants of their lands. Where they allowed Bakasht lands to be cultivated they refused to give them receipt for the rent collected either in cash or kind.[3] The Zamindars of Barahiya Tal in Munger district were the first to take the offensive where a resistance movement had already been launched by Karyanand Sharma before the formation of the Congress Ministry. It continued till the middle of 1939.[4]

In June 1937 the Congress set up a committee comprising Rajendra Prasad and Shrikrishana Sinha to inquire into the grievances of the Barahiya Tal peasants. Their recommendations, though moderate, were not accepted by the Zamindars. In 1938 the Collector of Munger set up a panchayat which was able to provide hardly 1,000 bighas to the tenants. That apart, a Zamindar of Patna conceded the right of kisans over 18,000 bighas of the Tal lands.[5]

In the beginning the Bihar Kisan Sabha did not lead the Bakasht Movement directly but when the Zamindars began defeating the Bakasht Restoration Act it plunged into the movement heart and soul. The movement spread to other districts and areas. The peasants of Reora in Gaya district resorted to Satyagrah under the leadership of Yadunandan Sharma for 1,000 bighas of land dispossessed by the Zamindars and succeeded in getting 850 bighas for collective farming.[6] A similar Satyagraha was led also by Rahula Sankrityayana[7] in village Anvari Saran district (now Siwan) and he succeeded in getting some concessions for the

1. Ibid.
2. Pattbahi Sitaramayya, *Why Vote Congress*, Bombay, 1945, p. 61.
3. Swami Sahajanand, op. cit., p. 513.
4. Political (special), GBO, File No. 29 VII of 1939.
5. Swami Sahajanand, op. cit., pp. 515-16.
6. A. Rasul, op. cit., p. 50; also Sahajanand op. cit. pp. 520-21.
7. For details about Rahula see N. M. P. Srivastav, "Rahula Sankrityayana : Scholar and Explorer", *The Searchlight*, March 11, 1979.

tenants. Bakasht Satyagrah was also waged in Majhiawan, Anuan, Agda, Bhalua, Majhare and Sandha in Gaya district; Bargaon, Darigaon and Muriar in Shahabad district; Parsadi and Chitauli in Saran district; Raghopur, Dekuli, Pandaul and Parari (Bithan) in Darbhanga district; Dharampura, Tarpura, Baildarichak, Ankuri and Jaipura in Patna district and also at certain places in Champaran and Bhagalpur districts. In Majhiawan and some other places even women fought against the goondas of the landlords.[1]

The relations between the Congress and the Kisan Sabha had never been cordial. When the Bihar Pradesh Kisan Sabha was founded in 1929 Ram Briksha Benipuri[2] vehemently opposed its formation. He maintained that when the Congress was already there to fight for the cause of the Kisans there was no need for a separate organisation to further the similar cause. Besides, Brajkishore Prasad, who was at the helm in the Champaran Movement, dissociated himself from the activities of the Sabha and he did not allow the organisers to list his name as a member of the Bihar State Kisan Sabha.[3] To silence the critics, the executive committee of the Sabha decided that the Sabha would never oppose the Congress in political matters. But in course of time relations between the Congress and the Sabha became strained owing to some basic differences between the two and Rajendra Prasad, who was an acknowleged leader of the Congress, never allowed Sahajanand to transgress his limit, and when he crossed it, he was sacked and expelled from the Congress.

Swami Sahajanand was an extremist. He had no faith in the nonviolence creed of the Congress. So when the Bihar Provincial Congress Committee set up agrarian inquiry committees in 1931 and 1936 Rajendra Prasad deliberately kept Sahajanand out of them[4] and the report of

1. Swami Sahajanand Saraswati, op. cit., pp. 521-24.
2. For detail about Benipuri see N. M. P. Srivastav, "A Distinguished Litterature", *The Searchlight*, December 9, 1979.
3. Swami Sahajanand, op. cit., pp. 342-43.
4. Ibid., p. 344.

inquiries were not made public.[1] Sahajanand believed, and he was right, that the Congress consisted of all capitalists and Zamindars and could not mitigate atrocities perpetrated by the Zamindars on the peasants. In 1931 when a no-rent campaign was launched in the United Provinces the British Government feared that it might have its impact also in Bihar but it did not materialise in Bihar owing to influence of landlords in the Congress. A special branch officer reported to the Deputy Inspector-General of Police (CID) on December 9, 1931 that "There is no possibility of a no-rent campaign being started in Bihar as the Congress leaders themselves belong to the Zamindar class who cannot possibly think of launching upon a class war in the province... There is a younger section in the Congress camp which wants to follow U. P. and Gujarat but modernising influence is exercised over them by more responsible and thoughtful leaders of the Congress specially Babu Brajkishore Prasad and Babu Rajendra Prasad."[2]

Obviously the Congress made inquiries into the grievances of the peasants and Rajendra Prasad, Shrikrishna Sinha and Mathura Prasad recorded them in Jahanabad, Wazirganj, Tikari and Aurangabad in December 1931 but they did not advise the peasants to launch a no-rent campaign. According to a Government report, the object of Rajendra Prasad was not to create friction between tenants and landlords. He tried to bring about an amicable settlement. He advised the landlords to look into the difficulties and hardships of the tenants and the latter to be submissive to the former. If the landlords were unreasonable and coercive he maintained, the tenants should take recourse to non-violent means so that their grievances might be redressed.[3]

The rift between the Corgress and the Kisan sabha widened during the first Congress Ministry and the Congressmen charged Swami

1. Among the members of the first Agrarian Committee were Shrikrishna Sinha, Abdul Bari, Bepin Behari Verma, K. B. Sahay, Ambika Kant Sinha, Radha Govind Prasad and Prajapati Mishra and the second committee was consisted of nine members.
2. Special Branch Inspector's report, Patna, December 9, 1931.
3. Second Officer to Subdivisional Officer, Aurangabad, December 12, 1931.

Sahajanand with conspiracy to capture the Congress organisation. The red flag of the Kisan Sabha also caused a flutter in the Congress circle. Jawaharlal Nehru made an attack on the Kisan Sabha flag and advised that the flag of the Sabha should also be tri-coloured. But the Kisan Sabha brushed aside the objection and the Niyamatpur meeting of the All India Kisan Committee held on July 14, 1937, gave its approval to the red flag with sickle and hammer.[1]

Swami Sahajanand was a militant nationalist. He gave flavour to the movement by advising the peasants to carry danda with them and use it in self-defence. It alarmed the Congress as well as the landlords. The Commissioner of Patna wrote on October 27, 1937, "The Agrarian situation seems almost alarming. Everywhere the tenants are being openly encouraged to take law into their own hands and seize by force lands formerly held by them which have been sold up and purchased by landlords in execution of decrees under regular process of law. The situation appears to be particularly bad in the Jehanabad subdivision of Gaya district where it seems large gathering of raiyats with arms in their hands are frequently held, and the most inflammatory speeches are being made. The most dangerous agitators appear to be Jadunandan Sharma and Swami Sahajanand.

"A considerable number of Zamindars are un-naturally getting alarmed at this militant activity of the Kisan Sabha. I have received information from many sources that at the meeting of the Kisans, the Kisans arrive with lathis, bhalas and garasas. It is further reported that the Kisans have adopted a practice of crossing lathis which is said to signify that the lathis will be used for beating or killing of the Zamindars.[2]

Consequently, the District Congress Committees of Saran, Champaran and Munger imposed a ban on the Swami from touring the districts. The Munger District Congress Committee passed a resolution prohibiting the Congressmen from attending meetings of the Sabha.[3] The Haripura

1. Sahajanand Saraswati, op. cit., pp. 530-35.
2. Extract from Patna Commissioner's fortnightly, October 27, 1931.
3. Swami Sahajanand, op. cit., p. 498.

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session of the Indian National Congress which was held in 1938 passed a resolution which said, "The Congress has already fully recognised the right of Kisans to organise themselves in peasant unions. Nevertheless it must be remembered that the Congress itself is in the main a Kisan organisation......while fully recognising the right of the Kisans to organise Kisan Sabha, the Congress cannot associate itself with any activities which are incompatible with the basic principles of the Congress and will not countenance any of the activities of those Congressmen who as the members of the Kisan Sabhas help in creating an atmosphere hostile to Congress principles and policy."[1]

During the whole of the 1938 there continued the controversy over the Danda Cult of Swami Sahajanand—the right of the peasants to use danda—and the Congress began to think in term of taking disciplinary action against the Kisan Sabhaites on the issue. The President of the All India Kisan Sabha, Prof N. G. Ranga, maintained that the Indian Kisan could not be asked to give up their traditional danda which is necessary and sacred to them as the kirpan is for the Sikhs.[2] Reacting to the proposal Jayaprakash Narayan said that if the Congress authorities were to be so unwise as to take disciplinary action againgst the Congressmen for their Kisan activities, such Congress—Kisan Sabhaites would have to part company with the Congress just as Lokmanya Tilak had to do in times past.[3]

Rajendra Prasad was, however adamant to take disciplinary action against the Kisan Sabhaites. He made a strong statement which was unlikely for a sober person like him and it gave a serious turn to the event. He said, "The whole attempt, ever since Congress took office, has been to show that Congressmen as distinguished from Kisan Sabha and its workers do not represent and cannot be relied on to safeguard the interests of the Kisans, and that it is necessary to have strong parallel organisation and to capture also the Congress organisations.........That a

1 B. V. Keskar, *Congress Hand-out*, Allahabad, 1946, p. 258.
2. *The Indian Annual Register*, January-June 1938, p. 349.
3. Ibid.

violent atmosphere prevails in many parts of the province by the preaching of the cult of the danda can be felt by anyone who choose to pay a visit to these parts.[1] The *Harijan* an organ of Mahatma Gandhi, took up the matter seriously and advised the Kisan Sabhaites to leave the Congress. It wrote "When one like Babu Rajendra Prasad uses strong language we may understand that the occasion must be worthy of very much stronger condemnation. For there is none amongst the Congress leaders so innately mild as Babu Rajendra Prasad, and he can never be provoked into the use of intemperate language. The statement in which he has exposed at some length the propaganda of those calling themselves Congressmen and working for the Kisans, throw a lurid light to the methods employed by these workers. We appeal to these workers to show the strength of their conviction and leave the Congress, cease to exploit the name of the Congress and carry on what propaganda they like on their own responsibility.[2]

As a result the Working Committee of the Bihar Provincial Congress Committee at a meeting under the Presidentship of Rajendra Prasad adopted a censure motion against Swami Sahajanand without giving him opportunity to explain. Sahajanand was also a member of the Committee. The motion was adopted in his absence.[3] It led him to resign from the Committee. In his resignation letter Sahajanand said justifying the danda cult. "It is utterly false to suggest that I have preached the right of using danda in self-defence in the regime of the Congress Ministers alone, and that I have been encouraged by the thought that the Congress Ministers will not send me to jail for saying so. I openly declare that during the last three or four years I have, in the course of my speeches dwelt on this aspect of self-defence at thousands of meetings......I assert with all the emphasis at my command that during the Congress regime I have used much milder language than I was using before......After all, what is it that I preach ? When the Kisans of village approach me trembling with fears

1. *Harijan*, January, 22, 1938.
2. Ibid.
3. Sahajanand, op. cit., p. 506.

of the Zamindar and his men, and narrate their pathetic tale of woe, how am I to infuse the spirit of self-defence and self-reliance in them ? The villagers believe that the Sipai has a right to harass and belabour them while they have not the right even to murmer. He can trespass on their houses and do whatever he likes. I have always exhorted them to muster strong in self-defence and to tell the oppressors accordingly to stop oppressions, otherwise the result would prove disastrous. They will run away like the dogs which flee away when scolded. But as the dog understands after being scolded, that if it attempts to snatch the bread, it would be severly thrashed, so the Zamindars too should be made to realise that if they do not desist they will get dandas. Or just as a person, who is pursued by a mad dog, is compelled to get rid of it and save his life with the help of a danda, similarly should a Kisan be prepared to defend himself, when every other means has failed and it is then alone that the tyrants will be scared of and refrain from their misdeeds. Mahatma Gandhi also says that violence is at least better than cowardice. The right of self-defence is protected even by the Criminal Procedure Code. May I know this observation of mine is violation of the Congress principles, where is the poison in it and now is it incitement to violence ? Should I tell the Kisans that they must keep mum even if the mad dog bites them and snatches away the pieces of bread which they want to eat ? Should they be asked to remain quiet when badmashas enter their houses, loot them, and insult their wives and sisters ? I maintain that the oppressors realise that they will receive dandas if they cross a certain limit, they will not abstain from their base action."[1]

In 1939 All India Congress Committee expelled Sahajanand from the membership of the Congress and the breach between the Congress and the Kisan Sabhaites then became complete.[2] Gandhiji also stamped his approval and said "my study of separate Kisan organisation has led me definitely to the conclusion that they are not working for the interest of the Kisan but are organised only with a view to capturing the Congress

1. *Harijan*, January 29, 1938.
2. A. Rasul, op. cit., p. 74.

organisation......If the Kisans and their leaders will capture the Congress by doing nothing but authorised work, there is no harm. But if they do so by making false register, storming meetings and so on, it would be something like Fascism.[1]

The All India Kisan Sabha held its annual conference at Gaya on April 9 and 10, 1939, under the presidentship of Acharya Narendra Deva, where a resolution was passed demanding an end to the Congress-Zamindar agreement. It said. "The Sabha demands from the Congress authorities in Bihar that the Congress-Zamindar agreement be put to an end at once, that the Congress Ministry be ordered to put a stop to the high-handedness and tyranny of the Zamindars and that the Congress Ministry shall take immediately steps to solve the Bakasht problems and generally to implement the terms of the Congress election manifesto and the agrarian programme of the Faizpur Congress.[2]

There was an impression in certain quarters that the members of the Congress-Socialist Party also wanted to create a split in the Congress. The charges against the Congress-Socialists were refuted by Jayaprakash Narayan, General Secretary of the All India Congress-Socialist Party, at the Delhi Socialist Conference in July 1939. He said that the Socialists had no quarrel with the Congress as a political organisation but they did not agree with its programme which was not sufficiently advanced and radical. The old Congress programme of attaining Swaraj had become too antiquated to cope with the modern needs. The chief task of the Socialists was the formation of Kisan Sabhas and Mazdoor Sabhas which would not weaken the Congress but strengthen the organisation.[3]

The Congress-Socialists, however, continued as an ally of the Kisan Sabhaites till February 1941. According to Sahajanand the Congress-Socialists wanted to dominate the Kisan Forum in which they did not succeed. So they parted company with the Sabha at the Provincial Kisan

1. *Harijan*, April 23, 1938.
2. Political (special), GBO, File No. 259 of 1959; also *The Indian Annual Register*, January-June 1939, pp. 411-12.
3. *The Indian Annual Register*, July-December 1939, pp. 361-62.

Sammelan held at Dumrao in February 1941 under the presidentship of Jamuna Karji.[1] Then there remained in the Kisan Sabha only Kisan Sabhaites led by Swami Sahajanand and the Communists.

In the course of time differences between the Communists and Sahajanand surfaced and the former began to think in term of ousting the Swami from the organisation. In February 1944 P. C. Joshi maintained that the Communists were in a position to eject Swami Sahajanand from the All India Kisan Sabha but they considered it more politic to continue to conciliate him rather than to terminate an alliance which, they feared might drive him into the camp of their enemies. They, therefore, made the Swami the President of the Sabha but clipped his wings by removing the central office to Bombay from Bihta (Patna) and by placing it under a Communist General Secretary, Bankim Mukherji, a member of the Central Committee.[2]

Sahajanand by this time had realised that the Communist ascendency in the Sabha would harm the interest of the Kisan and he feared that the Communist would continue to use the Sabha for propogation of their unpopular Pro-war Policy, Muslim self-determination and attacking their enemies in the Congress. So he proposed to the Communists in January 1945 that they should seek a rapproachment with the Congress by entering into an informal (and necessarily sincere) agreement that the Kisan Sabha would not go counter to the Congress in political matters. He also suggested that they should disguise the Communist complexion of the Sabha by electing Indulal Yajnik of Gujarat or some Congressmen as the next President.[3] Unimpressed by the contention of Sahajanand the Communist leadership in the middle of February sent Bankim Mukherjee, the Secretary of the Sabha, and Gopal Haldar to Bihar to effect a compromise with Sahajanand but the agreement could not be reached on the proposed office-bearers.

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1. Swami Sahajanand, op. cit., p. 565.
2. *Communist Survey No. 4*, June 30, 1945.
3. Ibid.

Sahajanand delivered an ultimatum to the Communist leadership that he would resign unless they fell in with his wishes and initiated disciplinary actions. On February 1945 he suspended for two months the General Secretary of the All India Kisan Sabha, the head office in Bombay, the Bengal Kisan Saba and several Bengal Committees, on the ground that they had wrongly used the Sabha as a platform for dissemination of the Communist propaganda in favour of the Muslim self-determination. On March 18 he suspended the members of the Central Kisan Council who assembled in Calcutta on March 8 and 9 to protest against the disciplinary measures and suspended all the Provincial Kisan Sabhas except that of Bihar. A few days later he denounced the Communist controlled residue of the Sabha as a rebel organisation.[1]

The rift between Sahajanand and the Communists entered the final stage in the first week of April when the ninth plenary session of the rebel All India Kisan Sabha was held at Netrokona and the Central Kisan Council composed entirely with the Communists was formed with Muzaffar Ahmad as the President. The conference reaffirmed a resolution passed in March in Calcutta denouncing Sahajanand's unauthorised and unconstitutional actions. Eventually the Bihar Communists formed their own Kisan Sabha in opposition to Sahajanand and his followers.[2] It led Sahajanand to severe his connections with the Communists and it was the end of his career as the acknowledged leader of the peasants. The Kisan Sabha was captured completely by the Communists.[3]

When Shrikrishna Sinha formed the second Congress Ministry on April 2, 1946 he mooted a proposal for the abolition of the Zamindari system[4] but it was opposed tooth and nail by the landlords. It was due to the then Revenue Minister, K. B. Sahay, that the Bihar Abolition of

1. Ibid.
2. Ibid.
3. N. M. P. Srivastava, *Bihar Kesari Dr. Shrikrishna Sinha ; Jivan Vrit evam Parivesh*, Patna, 1987, p. 165.
4. N. M. P. Srivastava, "Peasant Movement in Bihar", Journal of the Bihar Puravid Parishad, Vols. IV & V, pp. 224-225.

Zamindari Bill was passed by the Bihar Legislature in 1948. Bihar was the first State in the country to abolish the Zamindari system and the Bill drawn up by K. B. Sahay served as guide for other states.

The Bill, however took eight long years to become effective. It was referred back by the Central Government for amending certain provisions relating to mineral right and an amending legislation which resulted in the enactment of a more comprehensive legislation namely, the Bihar Reforms Act was enacted which came into force on September 25, 1950. The validity of the legislation was again challenged in the Court on the ground that it violated the fundamental right guaranteed in Article 14 of the Constitution. As a result the Constitution (First Amendment) Act, 1951 was passed by which Article 31 of the Constitution was amended and legal protection was given to this Act.

The landlords also challenged the competence of the Parliament to amend the Constitution but could not succeed. Ultimately, the Act was taken up for implementation with effect from mid-1952, and the last few intermediary interests were taken over by January 1, 1956.[1] The Zamindars used to collect Rs. 16 crore revenue every year. With the abolition of the Zamindari the right to collect revenue vested in the Government.[2]

The abolition of the Zamindari system, however, did not serve the purpose as the Zamindars were not deprived of the homestead and private lands. In 1961, the Bihar Land Reforms (Fixation of Ceiling Area and Acquisition of Surplus Land) Act was enacted limiting the land holding to 20 acre of irrigated and 60 acre of hilly land. The legislation made valid all transfer of lands made before October 22, 1959 which led the landlords the enter into Benami transaction and adopt malpractices to protect their lands. The Land reform legislations had several loopholes.

Vinoba Bhave visited different parts of Bihar from September 14, 1952 to December 31, 1954 and collected from the landords 21,17,756 acre during the course of his Bhoodan Movement of which 12.73 acre

1. *Report on Agricultural Census in Bihar*, 1970-71, p. 81.
2. *The Searchlight*, January 2, 1956.

of lands were found unfit for cultivation. Out of the remaining 8.44 lakh acres the Bhoodan Yagya Committee has been able to distribute till February 1986 only 6.21 lakh acre among 4.71 lakh landless people.[1] But it is doubtful whether the Bhoodan lands are in the actual possession of the landless. Similarly, the State Government has so far acquired, 3,20,162 acre surplus lands over the ceiling area of which only 2,05,491 acres have been distributed among 2,29,595 landless families.[2] But in most cases the landlers have not got the possession.

The failure of the land reform measures has generated rural tensions throughout the State. It has also generated consciousness among the landless peasants and the agricultural labour who are now determined to get social and economic justice.

In Bihar Kisan Sabha widened its base among the share-croppers and led their struggle against eviction in East Champaran, Saharsa, Purnea, Katihar, Bhagalpur, Darbhanga and Madhubani.[3] Purnea and Madhubani were important centres of Bataidari agitation which began spontaneously in 1967 and later came under the influence of the CPI and the CPI (M).[4] Till 1985-86 there were 9397 Bataidari cases pending with the State Government for disposal of which 279 cases were cleared by March 1986.[5]

In 1970, the Bharatiya Khet Mazdoor Union led a powerful land struggle in Bihar which started on June 25, 1970 with a massive peasants' demonstration in Patna in which over 2 lakh peasants and agricultural labour participated. The movement resulted in degrabbing 9,998 acres of Government wastelands grabbed by landlords in plains and these lands were settled with the landless peasants. Besides 54,000 acres of Govern-

1. The Performance Budget of the Department of Revenue and Land Reforms, 1986-87, p. 6.
2. Ibid., p. 5.
3. A. R. Desai (ed), *Agrarian Struggles in India lafter ndependence*, Delhi.
4. Ibid., p. 324.
5. Performance Budget of the Department of Revenue and Land Reforms, 1986-87, p. 7.

ment wastelands were settled in Chotanagpur region and 33,000 acre of lands were restored to the Adivasi peasants.[1]

The mishandling of the agrarian problems gave birth to the Naxalite movement. The term Naxalite has its origin in Naxalbari—a village in Siliguri district of West Bengal—which was the scene of an armed tribal peasant revolt against big landlords in 1967. The movement was infectious and it travelled to Bihar. There was a flare-up, the first of its kind, in 1968 in an area called Musahari, a small block of 12 villages in Muzaffarpur district. Soon after it spread to other places and Shahabad and Patna districts were affected in 1975. The movement has now been spread throughout the State which is essentially a confrontation between the haves and have-nots in which the haves have the support of the authorities.[2]

In 1978 the Chhatra Yuva Sangharsh Vahini, a youth organisation set by Jayaprakash Narayan, started an agitation against the benami land transaction by the Bodh Gaya Mahanth who has landed property in several districts of the State and also outside. The Bihar Government at the instance of Jayaprakash Narayan set up the Bodh Gaya Enquiry Committee with Mr. K. B. Saxena as Secretary to inquire into the benami land of the Mahanth.[3] The seven-member Committee submitted its report to the State Government on October 7, 1980 but it is yet to be made public.

At present three peasant organisations are active in Bihar. They are : Kisan Sabha of the Vinod Mishra Group, Mazdoor Kisan Sangram Samiti of the Party Unity Group and Krantikari Kisan Committee of the Maoist Communist Centre. The landlords have set up their own armies to foil the Kisan movement and to oppose the Lal Sena fighting for social and economic justice to the kisans. These senas are known as Bhoomi Sena, Kuer Sena, Azad Sena, Shrikrishna Sena, Brahmarshi Sena, Samaj-

1. A. R. Desai, op. cit., p. 134.
2. N M. P. Srivastava, "Naxalite Movement in Bihar", *The Searchlight*, October 1, 1978.
3. Bihar Government Resolution No 4080 of October 13, 1979.

vadi Krantikari Sena, Soshit Samajvadi Sena, Lorik Sena, Vishwamitra Sena, Pratap Sena, Maurya Sena. These Senas have been formed on caste basis. It has generated rural violence and brought the peasants and the landlords face to face. In August 1986, the State Government banned the private Senas of the landlords.

There is not much land over the ceiling to be distributed among the landless. But the Government lands grabbed by the rich peasants can be distributed among the landless. Again, much land can be made available for have-nots if the Government plugs the loopholes in the present land ceiling legislation and cancel all benami transactions made by landlords to frustrate the provision of the law. The All India Kisan Sabha had planned a stir throughout the country[1] on the issue from September 7 to September 13 but it was postponed due to alarming flood and drought throughout the country.

1. The General Secretary of All India Kisan Sabha, Mr. N. Sankaranand, addressed a press conference in Patna on August 16, 1987.

Newspapers in Bihar

DR. NAGENDRA KUMAR

In Bihar many newspapers were published even when it was a part of Bengal before the year 1912. The first Hindi weekly was published from Patna in the year 1871 by Keshv Ram Bhatt, namely the *Bihar Bandhu*.[1] Next year in 1872, the first English newspaper *The Bihar Herald* came out from Patna by Guru Prasad Sen, a leading lawyer, with the financial support from the *Maharaja* of Dumraon.[2]

In 1881, an English weekly *The Indian Chronicle* was started in Patna and in 1884 another English Weekly *The Bihar Patriot* was also published. In 1889, Mahesh Narain started the *Kayastha Gazette*.[3]

When in 1893, Dr. Sachchida Nand Sinha came back to India from England then he devoted his time towards organising a paper. Thus in 1894, he started *The Bihar Times* in Patna with the active support of Mahesh Narain, a capable journalist, Saligram Singh and Bisheshwar Singh of Kulharia family and Mahabir Sahai, Nand Kishore Lal and some leading people of Bihar to advocate the cause of the people of Bihar. For sometime this paper wag shifted to Bhagalpur to suit the convenience of Mahesh Narain, but again this paper came back to Patna in 1906 and was renamed as *The Biharee*.[4]

In 1908, quarterly *Mithila Mihir* was started by the *Maharaja* of Darbhanga. It was converted into weekly from March 1911 and continued till 1954 and was restarted in 1960.[5]

1. P. N. Ojha (Ed.), *History of the Indian National Congress in Bihar;* (1885-1985), *Patna* 1985, pp. 12-13.
2. Ibid.
3. N. Kumar, *Journalism in Bihar*; (Patna 1971), p. 51.
4. Nagendra Mohan Prasad Shrivastava, *Bihar Mein Rastriyata Ka Vikash 1912-47;* (Patna 1974) p. 8.
5. N. Kumar, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

Dr. Sachchida Nand Sinha started the agitation for a separate province of Bihar from Bengal through these papers.

The year, 1912, is a landmark in the history of modern Bihar. From 13th April 1912, *The Biharee* came out as a full fledged English daily and the same day Sir Charles Bayley came to Patna as the first Lieutenant Governor of the newly created province of Bihar and Orissa. Thus, the separate province of Bihar came into existence.[1]

In 1913 the Hathua *Raj* started a weekly called *The Express* from Patna. This was edited by a south Indian Journalist, S. A. Raja. The paper ceased its publication by the end of 1930.[2] In 1914 the Hathua *Raj* started another weekly called the *Patliputra*. This was the first weekly newspaper with a definite nationalist policy. The first editor of this paper was renowned historian, Dr. K. P. Jaiswal.[3] Besides, there were numerous newspapers and periodicals which were in circulation in Bihar. It has been mentioned in a Govt. report that in 1915 its number was 55, in 1916 its number was 61 and in 1917 its number was 65 including the following newspapers and periodicals which were started in Bihar during that year (1917)[4] :—

Sl. No.	Name	Language	Edition	Place of Publication
1.	Bihar News	English	weekly	Bankipur
2.	Dharam Sevak	Hindi	Monthly	Patna
3.	Koeri Hitchintak	,,	,,	Gaya
4.	Masiha	Urdu	Weekly	Darbhanga
5.	Revani Hitkari	Hindi	Monthly	Muzaffarpur
6.	Sahitya Chandrika	Hindi	,,	Obra (Gaya)

The Searchlight

In 1918, the leaders of Patna, prominent amongst them were Dr. Sachchida Nand Sinha, Hassan Iman, Brajkishore Prasad, Rajendra

1. Ibid , p. 54.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid, p. 70.
4. File No. 59/1918, Bihar Political Special Deptt., Patna,

Prasad and some others felt the need of a strong newspaper. Consequently, in the month of March 1918, a meeting was held at Hassan Manzil, Patna to start a newspaper. Dr. Sachchida Nand Sinha explained the object of the paper as there was no independent paper in this province, so it has been decided to start a paper called *The Searchlight.*[1]

When the Non-Cooperation Movement (1920-22) was started by Mahatma Gandhi, the organisers of this paper went into a conference to decide what stand the paper should take. Dr. Sachchida Nand Sinha and Hassan Imam were opposed to the Non-Cooperation Movement while Brajkishore Prasad supported the Non-Cooperation Movement. There was much enthusiasm for the favour of the Movement, however, the paper could loose its popularity by opposing the Non-Cooperation Movement. Therefore, it was decided that the paper should not favour the Movement in its editorials but should publish objective reports without taking sides on the issue. It was also decided to publish the signed articles either in favour or against the Movement.[2] Thus, the *Searchlight* followed the policy of non-alignment on the question of Non-Cooperation Movement. But after some time Dr. Sachchida Nand Sinha and Hassan Imam, who had built up the paper with their money and hard work generously handed over the paper to the non-cooperators. Since then the *Searchlight* became the fulfledged nationalist paper supporting the Congress.[3]

According to Government report the total number of newspapers and periodicals published in Bihar and Orissa were 59 in 1918, 66 in 1919 and 78 in 1920.[4]

The Bihar Herald was published from Patna and was primarily the spokesman of the domiciled Bengali community and devoted much space to matters affecting that community. *The Bihar Standard* was published

1. File No. 164/1918, Bihar Political Special Deptt., Patna.
2. Rajendra Prasad, *Autobiography*, pp. 131–32.
3. Ibid.
4. File No. 163/1921, Bihar Political Special Deptt, Patna,

from Muzaffarpur and *The Bihar Advocate* from Gaya. They mainly dealt with the local news.[1]

The following newspapers and periodicals were started in 1920 in Bihar :—

Sl. No.	Name	Language	Edition	Place of Publication
1.	Agrahari Sevak	Hindi	Monthly	Motihari
2.	Al Adl	Urdu	Weekly	Patna
3.	Bihar Utkal Vidya Pracharak	Hindi & Englsh	Monthly	Gaya
4.	Chaitanya Chandrika	Hindi	Monthly	Patna
5.	Desh Sevak	Hindi	Weekly	Monghyr
6.	Khetri Hitkari	Hindi	Monthly	Patna
7.	Mahila Darpan	Hindi	Monthly	Muzaffarpur
8.	Nirbheek	Hindi	Weekly	Motihari
9.	Parish Magazine	Hindi	Monthly	Ranchi
10.	Praja Bandhu	Hindi	Weekly	Patna
11.	Sahitya Mala	Hindi	Montlhy	Gaya
12.	Sardha	Sanskrit	Monthly	Patna
13.	Taj	Urdu	Monthly	Gaya
14.	Tej Narayan Jubliee College Magazine	English	Quarterly	Bhagalpur[2]

Desh

In 1920, Rajendra Prasad started a Hindi weekly *Desh* from Patna. It was printed at the Searchlight Press. This paper was in full support of the Congress and its policy. This paper proved of immense help in Congress propaganda.[3] In February, 1924, a case was instituted against its Editor, Pandit Parashnath Tripathy and its Printer Mahabir Ram. Both of them were prosecuted separately under section 124–A, IPC.

1. Ibid.
2. Ibid.
3. Rajendra Prasad, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

on the charge of publishing two articles, "*Vijay-ka-Sadhan*" and "*Mata-ki-Pukar*" in their paper. The Printer, Mahabir Ram, pleaded not guilty. The Editor held that by publishing the two articles he had not committed any offence and boldly submitted the following statement on the 22nd February, 1924 :—

"I am the editor of the *Desh* and I am responsible for whatever is printed therein—I am the writer of the articles headed '*Vijay-ka-Sadhan*' and '*Mata-ki-Pukar*'. I consider myself servant of my country and a follower of the path of Non-cooperation. In accordance with its principles I consider it wrong and a sin to create hatred or ill-will against any particular race or particular community. In these articles there is nothing opposed to that principle, nor did I intend to write any such thing. If, therefore, the charge is that I have created or attempted to create ill-will in the minds of readers of the *Desh*, I consider myself free from it. But if the charge is that I have created feelings of contempt against the system of Government established and current in this country, then I have to say that every Indian who believes in *Swarajya* considers it his duty to end the current system at the earliest possible moment, and it is the duty of every Non-cooperator to create, propagate, support and strengthen that feeling. Whatever I have written, I have written under the impulse of that duty. It may be that I may be held guilty in the court of the bureaucracy, but whatever I have done will be considered meritorious in my own conscience and before the bar of public opinion of this country and before God. I know too that it is but natural that the established Government should throw obstacles in the path of the propagation of such sentiments in community and a country anxious for *Swarajya*. I have, therefore, no grievance. Whatever, I have written, I have written deliberately, and the only wonder is that there should have been such delay on the part of the Government in spotting an *Asahajogi* (Non-Cooperating) paper like the *Desh*. The court may give me such punishment as it thinks proper. I will gladly accept it." On the 25th February next the court sentenced Pandit Parasnath Tripathy to two year's simple imprisonment, and Mahabir Ram to one year's simple imprisonment.[1]

1. K. K. Datta, *History of the Freedom Movement in Bihar*, Vol. I, pp. 464-65.

The Motherland

In 1921, Maulana Mazharul Haque, the great patriot, started an English weekly from Patna called the *Motherland*. It was a Congress paper, fully supporting the Non-Co-operation Movement. Maulana Mazharul Haque was himself its editor. The paper was temporarily suspended for not complying the Government order, but it was restarted on 5th May, 1922. Reiterating its original "articles of faith", it began to publish articles commenting on the anomalies of Jail administration and the undignified treatment with the political prisoners by the authorities. On the 26th July, Maulana Mazharul Haque was prosecuted on a charge of defamation for publishing in the paper a statement to the offect that Sir Hormusjee Banatwala, the Inspector General of Prisons in Bihar, who was undoubtedly a strong advocate of repressive measures, had "deliberately outraged the feelings of Muhammadan prisoners and insulted Islam" in the matter of calling the 'Azan' in the jail. The District Magistrate of Patna sentenced him to a fine of Rs. 1000 or in default to three months imprisonment. He courted imprisonment instead of paying the fine. This incident gave additional impetus to the Khilafat Movement in Bihar and formed a subject of considerable interpellation in the local Legislative Council.[1]

Besides, it is also evident from a letter of Basudeo Narayan Sinha, Hindi and Urdu Translator to Government of Bihar & Orissa, dated 20th March 1923 (No. 149), which was addressed to the Government of Bihar & Orissa, that the following newspapers and periodicals may be regarded as political :—

S. N.	*Name*	*Language*
1.	Tarun Bharat	Hindi
2.	Bihar Bandhu	"
3.	Nirbhik	"
4.	Desh Sevak	"
5.	Hindi Rajya	"

1. Ibid, pp. 423-24.

6.	Chaitanya Chandrika	Hindi
7.	Tirhut Samachar	,,
8.	Lakshmi	,,
9.	Narad	,,
10.	Mithila Mihir	,,
11.	Kishan Samachar	,,
12.	Kishan Mitra	,,
13.	Shiksha	,,
14.	Al-Adl	Urdu
15.	Urdu Rajya	,,
16.	Is lah	,,
17.	Taj	,,
18.	Khilafat Gazette	,,
19.	Inqelab	,,
20.	Rajshakti	Bengali.[1]

Urdu made a great contribution in the field of journalism. In 1922, *Itehad* started from Patna and continued till 1948. *Husn-O-Isha,* a monthly and *Al-Islah,* a weekly were published from Dehri-on-Sone in 1923-24. In 1928 a weekly called *Naqib*, was published from Phulwari Shariff. In 1948 a weekly, *Al-Hoda* came out from Darbhanga.[2]

There had been a number of local English weeklies published from Dhanbad and Jamshedpur in between 1920–30. To mention a few, they were, *The Coal Field Times, The New Sketch.*[3]

Dr. Sachchida Nand Sinha, the father of modern Bihar, started an English monthly called the *Hindustan Review.* It was originally published from Allahabad in the year 1900 and then from Calcutta in 1921 and thereafter it shifted to Patna in 1926, where it continued till the death of Dr. Sinha in 1950.[4]

1. File No. 37/1923, Bihar Political Special Deptt., Patna.
2. N. Kumar, *op. cit.*, p. 78.
3. Ibid, p. 64.
4. Ibid.

The Indian National Congress started the Civil Disobedience Movement in 1930. To supress the movement the Government applied various repressive measures. In Bihar, strong action was taken against the Bulletin in Hindi called the *Bihar Satyagraha Samachar*. On the 29th May 1930, Mr. E. R. Cousins, Magistrate of Patna, wrote a letter to its publisher asking him for a declaration under the Press Act. The latter took no notice to this letter and after some days the said Magistrate ordered a summon to be issued against the Assistant Secretary of the Congress for "breach of the provisions of Sections 3, 4 and 5 of the Press Act". On the 13th or 14th June 1930, the police raided the office of the Provincial Congress Committee at Patna in connection with the *Bihar Satyagraha Samachar*. They took from there a cyclostyle and roneo duplicator together with their accessories and all unsold copies of the *Bihar Satyagraha Samachar*. But the *Bihar Satyagraha Samachar* still continued to appear and the Government could not locate the place of its publication.[1]

On the 22nd July, 1930, the Government of India promulgated an ordinance under the title of the *Unauthorised News Sheets* and *Newspapers Ordinance*, 1930, ' to make provision for the control of unauthorised news-sheets and newspapers". On the 10th July, the Government of Bihar and Orissa sent copies of this Ordinance to their Magistrates pointing out to them that "prompt action should be taken against all unauthorised newspapers and undeclared presses." Now mostly newspapers in Bihar were forfeited.[2]

During the Civil Disobedience Movement the newspapers were very critical of the Government and highlighted its varirous acts of omission and commission. It gave vast coverage to the nationalist activities and the atrocities perpetuated by the Britishers. Under the circumstances, the British Government decided to muzzle the press before it could inflame the native feelings, this resulted in the enactment of the *Indian Press (Emergencies Powers) Act* 1931. The main objective of the Act was to

1. K. K. Datta, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 101.
2. Ibid, p. 103.

muzzle the publication of the matter likely to incite or encourage violence or murder. The keepers of printing presses could be asked to deposit a security. If they publish any objectionable material against the Government, the security could be forfeited. It may be noted that the restriction applied against the keepers of the printing presses as well as publishers of newspapers. If a press worked without depositing security, it could be confiscated by the Government. Six months imprisonment could be inflicted for publishing unauthorised news-sheets and newspapers.[1]

The Act provided much power to the Provincial Government to control the press. These powers were actually used by them to prohibit the publication of the names and portraits of wellknown leaders. The newspapers were not permitted to carry on any propaganda on behalf of the Congress or publish the massage of the leaders in jail.

The Indian Nation

In the aforesaid political atmosphere, *The Indian Nation* an English daily was started by the late *Maharajadhiraj* Sir Kameshwar Singh of Darbhanga from Patna in 1931. A British journalist, Mr. Hardy, was appointed its first editor.[2]

Under the *Indian Press* (*Emergency Powers*) *Act 1931*, all the leading Newspapes were ceased in Bihar. The Hindi weekly *Desh* ceased its publication on 10th February 1931 and restarted on 13th March 1931 and it did not pay the security demanded under the Press Act.[3]

Navin Bharat a Hindi weekly was published from Chitragupta Press, Gaya. This weekly was discontinued in the middle of May 1930, when its editor Jaleshwar Prasad Khalish was arrested in connection with the Civil Disobedience Movement and convicted. After his release from Jail, Jaleshwar Prasad Khalish filed a fresh declaration on the 10th August 1931 and the paper continued in existence from the 10th August to 24th

1. S C. Ray Chaudhary, *History of Modern India*, (Delhi 1983), Vol. II, p. 176.
2. N. Kumar, *op. cit.*, p. 62.
3. File No. 1/1932, Bihar Political Special Deptt., Patna.

November, 1931. This was Congress Paper and mostly dealt with the Congress matters.[1]

It is evident from the Collector's (Patna) letter no. U. O. No. 907/C dated 24th December 1932 that the Security for Rs. 1500.00 was demanded from the publisher of the *Searchlight* under the *Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act* 1931. But the security was not deposited and press ceased to publish.[2]

The Indian Nation was closed in March 1932 and re-commenced its publication in April 1934, with C. S. R. Somayajulu as its editor.[3]

In 1933, Narayan Prasad Singh of Gorakothi, Distt. Saran (now in Siwan district) started a weekly the *Yogi*. It was a political weekly.[4]

In 1934 (on 31st May) a weekly *Navashakti* started its publication from Patna. It was edited by Devbrata Shastri. It fully supported the national movement. On 25th October 1936 its daily edition was also started but ceased publication after a month. In 1941 Devbrata Shastri started publication of a daily Hindi paper *Rashtravani* which alongwith the weekly *Navashakti* served the cause of the freedom movement. In 1946 he resigned from the *Rashtravani* and on January 26, 1947 started the publication of another Hindi daily *Navarastra* which became very popular within a short period. It ceased publication in 1965, revived towards the end of 1967 and finally closed down in 1968.[5]

During the second World War (1939-45) the Govt. was given exhaustive powers under the Defence of Indian Act to deal with the press. Pre-censorship was re-inforced. Press Emergency Act and the *Official Secret Acts* were amended. Such stringent measures were taken against the Congress, that the publication of all news relating to Congress was

1. Ibid.
2. File Nos 27 and 227/1932, Bihar Political Special Deptt., Patna.
3. N. Kumar, *op. cit*, p. 62.
4. Ibid, p. 72.
5. P. N. ojha (Ed.) *Bihar, : Past & Present* (Souvenir), K. P. Jaiswal Research Institute, Patna (1987) p. 249.

declared illegal. The Government continued to enjoy these extraordinary power till the end of the war in 1945.[1] In Bihar also several newspapers were proscribed. During the first half of January, 1940, the *Chingari* a vernacular newspaper of Gaya closed its publication on account of the Government demand for security.[2] On demand of security for Rs. 2000.00 the paper called the *Janta* also closed its publication.[3]

Thus, these newspapers were kept under the strict vigilence and censorship and the Government proscribed innumerable publications. On 9th August, 1940, the Govt. of Bihar passed an order, to the effect that "all references whether contained in the editorial or correspondence columns, to the conduct of British soldiers in India shall, before being published in the newspaper *Searchlight* be submitted for scrutiny to the Special Press Adviser, Patna, for a period of three months from the date of service of the order." In that way the *Searchlight* was kept under great vigilence.[4]

In 1940, a Hindi weekly *Hunkar* was started in Patna under the editorship of Jamuna Karjee. It was an organ of Bihar Kisan Sabha.[5]

Aryavarta

In 1941 a Hindi Daily was started from Patna called *Aryavarta* which was owned by the *Maharajadhiraj* of Darbhanga and was printed and published from the *Indian Nation* Press. The first editor of this paper was Pandit Dinesh Datta Jha.[6]

Newspapers & Quit India Movement (1942)

During the Quit India Movement (1942) the Government attacked on the Press by more stringent censorship and restrictions. On 8th

1. S. C. Ray Chaudhary, *op. cit*, p. 177.
2. K. K. Datta, *op. cit*, p. 356.
3. Ibid, p. 358.
4. Ibid, p. 412
5. N. Kumar, *op. cit.*, p. 74.
6. Ibid, p. 73.

August 1942, Government of India issued a Notification containing new censorship regulations. These prohibited the printing or publishing by any printer, publisher or editor of any factual news relating to the 'Mass movement' sanctioned by the A. I. C. C., or measures taken by Government against the movement, except the news gathered from official sources or the news agencies or correspondent registered with the District Magistrate. The Bihar Government strictly enforced these and made pre-censorship of news binding. A ban was put on the *Searchlight* and it had to cease its publication as a protest against Government measures. Even the *Indian Nation* ceased its publication on the 6th September, 1942. Now there was no daily *Newpaper* in Bihar, except the Government's daily news bulletin, called the *Patna Daily News*. A daily Urdu paper, called the *Sada-e-am*, appeared some time back, many copies of which were subscribed by the Government, who distributed these in the districts. A A new weekly, called the *Monghyr Samachar*, was being published at Monghyr, *The Bihar Herald* occasionally criticised Government measures. Braj Shankar Varma, editor of the *Yogi*, was arrested on the 22nd September, 1942, on the charge of reproducing in his paper the pamphlet called "Is the War Indivisible." He was convicted on the 10th October and sentenced to six months simple imprisonment.[1]

In the mean time the Indian people were shocked to learn that Mahatma Gandhi, under detention at Aga-Khan Palace in Puna, had resorted to fast "according to capacity" from February 10, 1943. It was of twenty one days duration, as a moral protest against Government excesses.[2] Inspite of Government restrictions, the news of Mahatma Gandhi's fast predominated in Bihar's papers. On 4th February 1943 the *Prabhakar* of Monghyr printed a photo of Mahatma Gandhi and its editorial contained a prayer for the success of Mahatma Gandhi. On the 16th February, 1943, the *Bihar Herald* of Patna inserted a portrait photo of Mahatma Gandhi with the news that "Mahatma Gandhi has begun a 21 days fast." On 19th February, 1942, The *Yogi* of Patna expressed deep concern over the fast

1. K. K Datta, *op cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 251-52.
2. Nagendra Kumar, *Indian National Movement*, (Patna, 1979) p. 204.

of Mahatma Gandhi and commented strongly on Government's adamant policy.[1]

On 14th March 1943, the ban was withdrawn from the *Searchlight*. The paper restarted its publication on 25th March and strongly demanded the release of Mahatma Gandhi and other Congress leaders. The *Indian Nation* and the *Aryavarta,* which had ceased its publication in September 1942, reappeared on the 9th and 10th April 1943, respectively.[2]

On the eve of the Independence of India on 15th August, 1947 a Hindi daily, the *Pradeep,* was started from Patna as the sister publication of the *Searchlight*. In the same year another Hindi daily the *Janshakti* also appeared from Patna.[3]

In 1948 the *Press Trust of India* was formed. This organisation was to take over the supply of news to and from India on the basis of an arrangement with the Reuters. This provided the Indian Press complete control over internal news supply. *The Press Trust* was a voluntary association, whose membership was open to all newspapers of India. Subsequently, it became independent of Reuters. The constitution of free India which came into force on 26th January 1950 provided complete freedom of press.[4]

On 18th March 1974 the students of Bihar protested against the maladministration, corruption and rising prices before the State Assembly. On the same day, a mob carrying kerosene and rags set on fire the building housing the two papers of Patna, *Searchlight* in English and *Pradeep* in Hindi, destroying machines, files, newsprint reels and rotary. Although the police station was nearby, the police arrived at the spot two and a half hours after the starting of the fire. It is alleged that the delay was deliberate as the editor of *Searchlight* was critical of the alliance between the Congress and the Communist Party of India and the fire was a result of the revenge by the Comminist Party of India against the newspaper.[5]

1. K. K. Datta, *op. cit*, Vol. III, p p. 294–95.
2 Ibid, p. 297.
3. N. Kumar, *op. cit.*, p. 74.
4. S. C. Ray Chaudhary, *op. cit*: p. 178.
5. V. D. Mahajan, *History of Modern India* Vol. II, p. 8 (New Delhi, 1983).

Internal emergency was promulgated in India near about midnight between 25 and 26 June 1975. After the declaration of emergency, a number of legislative and regulatory measures were taken with a view to impose censorship on the press. Vidya Charan Shukla tookover as Minister of Information and Broadcasting on 28th June 1975 at noon. By 2 P. M. Dr. A. R. Baji, Principal Information Officer, PIB, was on the phone intimating editors of major Delhi Newspapers of a meeting at 4 P. M. the same day with the new Minister. The editors were told not to print anything without the approval of the censor. Similar action was taken against other newspapers published in other parts of India. Thus, newspapers became dull during the emergency. They could praise the gains of emergency. However, they could not say that the prices were rising because the Ministers and other officials were saying so.[1] In the elections of March 1977, the Congress Party lost the election to *Lok Sabha,* Prime Minister Indira Gandhi advised the Acting President to revoke the Internal Emergency on 21 March 1977. With the lifting of the emergency, all the fundamental rights under Articles 14, 19, 21 and 22 which had been suspended during the emergency were automatically restored.[2]

After the defeat of the Congress, the Janta Party (1977-79) came into the power. On 4th April, 1977, two Bills seeking to restore and safeguard the Freedom of Press were introduced in *Lok Sabha.* These Bills aimed at repealing the controversial legislation enacted during the emergency. One Bill sought to repeal the *Prevention of the Publication of objectionable Matters Act 1976* while the other sought to restore the the protection to the publication of the reports of the Proceedings of Parliament. *The Parliamentary Proceedings* (Protection of Publication) Act 1977, received the assent of the President on 18th April 1977 and the same day *The Prevntion of Publication of objectionable Matters* (*Repeal*) *Act* 1977 also, received the assent of the President.[3]

1. Ibid. pp. 66–101.
2. Ibid pp. 244–45.
3. Ibid pp. 266.

Aaj a Hindi daily came out from Patna in 1979. This was published from Ranchi also. *Patliputra Times*, a daily Hindi paper was started in Patna in 1985.

The year 1986, was an important date in the history of the newspapers in Bihar. *The Searchlight*, the famous English daily of Bihar ceased its publication and was replaced by a Patna edition of the *Hindustan Times*. The *Pradeep*, a daily Hindi paper was also closed and Patna edition of the Hindi daily *Hindustan* took its place.[1]

The Times of India, an English daily started its publication from Patna on 1st May 1986 and *Nav Bharat* a Hindi daily was started from Patna on 1st June 1986.[2]

At present (in 1987) there are unaccounted Newspapers which are published from Bihar some of them are:—

English (daily)—

Daily Press (1978) Daronda (Ranchi)

Hindi (daily)—

Awaj (1947) Dhanbad, *Bharat Mail* (1975) Patna, *Janshakti* (1960) Patna, *Dasdisa* (1973) Patna, *Prataha Bayu* (1975) Muzaffarpur, *Ranchi Express*, Ranchi, *Rashtra Dhara* (1972) Biharsariff.

Hindi (Bi-weekly)—

Berojgar (1968) Patna, *Bihar Jivan* (1973) Bhagalpur *Saran Sandesh*, Mirganj (Gopalganj).

English (weekly)—

Bihar Information (Bihar Govt.) Patna. *Bihar News* (1975) Gaya, *Col Field Gazette* (1974) Dhanbad, *Col Field Times* (1947) Dhanbad, Motive (1973) Jamshedpur.

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1. P. N. Ojha (Ed) *Bihar, Past & Present* (1987) p. 235.
2. Ibid.

Hindi (weekly) —

Aafat (1974) Bhagalpur, *Aagami Bharat* (1966) Monghyr, *Barauni Sandesh* (1971) Begu Sarai, *Bihar Samachar*, (Bihar Govt.) Patna, *Chota Nagpur Sandesh* (1975) Ranchi, *Darbhanga Samachar* (1958) Laheria Sarai, *Dhanbad Samachar* (1978) Dhanbad, *Gaya Samachar* (1973) Gaya, *Gopalganj Sandesh* (1975) Gopalgani, *Katihar times* (1978) Katihar, *Lal Sitara* (1968) Saharsa, *Madhu Bani Samachar* (1974) Madhubani, *Monghyr times*, Monghyr, *Raxaul times* (1974) Raxaul, *Siwan Sambad* (1977) Siwan, Begusarai Times, Begusari.

Urdu—

Adarsh, Marufganj, (Patna), *Hamaridharti* (1978) Dhanbad.

Press Council of India met at Patna (on 11th & 12th August—1987)

The press council of India met at Patna on August 11th and 12th, 1987, under the Chairmanship of Justice A. N. Sen to consider 17 complaints. The main focus of Interest centred round the complaint filed by the *Patliputra Times*, a Hindi daily from Patna, alleging stoppage of advertisement by the Government for publication of the news item critical of the functioning of the government and the police. The news item published on May 1 last year, carried a graphic account of mass killing by the police in Arwal. The paper contended that following the publication of news item, the Public Relations Department stopped advertisements to the paper without assigning any reason.[1] The council also heard some animated discussion on the case filed by *the Begusarai Times* against the district administration, district Magistrate and the Sub-Divisional Officer regarding the sealing of the paper's establishment on February 10th 1987, at Begusarai.[2] Commenting on the allegations of the *Patliputra* justice Sen said that the state should strive to maintain equal distance with news establishments and partiality in some cases was neither admissilbe nor permissible.[3] Refering the case of *Begusarai Times* justice Sen directed the

1. The Times of India, Patna, August 12, 1987.
2. Ibid.
3. The Hindustan Times, Patna, August 13, 1987.

Home Secretary to see that advertisements were given to the daily without any delay. Justice Sen also remarked that if any Official had any grudge towards any newspapers he should draw the attention of the Press Council immediately instead of comming in the way of smooth functioning of the newspaper.[1]

The above, is the brief history of Newspapers in Bihar.

1. The Indian Nation, Patna, August 13, 1987.

Library Movement in Bihar

DR. R. P. PODDAR

Bihar has a very rich tradition of libraries. In ancient times this part of the country had famous seats of learning like Nalanda[1] and Vikramasila[2] which, owing to their allegiance to the monastaries were called Viharas (monasteries), a preponderance whereof gave the province its name Bihar.[3] The Viharas had their libraries, the one at Nalanda had a fabulously large collection of books. The Viharas were centres of preservation, propagation and generation of knowledge. The Chinese traveller Huen-Tsang had prepared at Nalanda copies of several Buddhist texts and carried them home. We have archaeological evidences, to show that there were copyists in the Nalanda Maha-Vihara who were provided for by the king.[4]

The ancient Viharas were not restricted to their inmates only. They were open to all aspirants of knwledge. Thus they served the purposes of both the institutional and the public libraries.

Public library concept is a product of the renaissance when secularization of religious institutions, widespread use of the printing

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1. At a distance of 10 kilometers from Biharshariff on Biharshariff-Rajgir Road. The name Nalanda has been variously explained as abounding in Lotus Stalk (नाल) or as being insufficient (न + अलम्) in revenue collection for meeting the expenses of the University situated here. But it could have very well been derived from ज्ञानदा (a centre of learning) thiough the stages > णाणदा > णाणंदा > नालंदा ।
2. Antichak in the district of Bhagalpur.
3. Buddhism by Monier Williams, p. 68.
4. Mudgagiri Inscription of Devapal (9th Century).

press and formalization of educational institutions, and the consequent restriction of the institutional libraries to the inmates only, contributed to its growth.

In respect of the modern public libraries too, Bihar has a rich tradition. During the foreign rule in the country, the local chiefs assumed to patronize learning which function was formerly exercised by the Indian monarchs. In this respect efforts of late Lakshmishwar Singh, Maharaja of Darbhanga are praise-worthy, who made a rich collection of printed and hand-written books mostly pertaining to Sanskrit learning for the use of Pandits of his court and also for preservation of learning. His successor late Maharaja Kameshwar Singh continued to nourish this library which was later transferred to Kameshwar Singh Darbhanga Sanskrit University. A part of Maharaja's collections formed the nucleus of Lakshmishwara Public Library, Darbhanga which was established in 1919. At present it is owned and managed by a trust. Government of Bihar recognised it as a District Central Library and subsequently upgraded it to a divisional library. A part of its establishment cost is met by annual grants given by the Government.

Collection of books and manuscripts, chiefly pertaining to Arabic and Persian learning, by late Khuda Bakhsh Khan is well known. He had inherited a sizeable collection of manuscripts from his father which provided the foundation for the library formally established in 1890. In this library there is a variety of manuscripts of the Quran. Some of the manuscripts are embellished by miniature paintings. Among the rare collections of this library are the Shahnama of Firdausi, Memoirs of Jehangir by Gulbadan, the Biography of Sultan Muhammad III of Turkey. Besides books and manuscripts, the library has an interesting collection of curios which includes a rare seal of princess Jehan Ara. At present the library is managed by an autonomous board under the general control of the Department of Culture, Government of India. Another library which deserves mention beside the Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library is the Gopal Narain Public Library at Bharatpura. This library too has a rare collection of Arabic and Persian manuscripts embellished by miniature paintings. It also possesses some curios of the medieval period.

The Bihar Research Society was established in 1915 with a core Research Library with special emphasis on Indology. The library has since grown into an important reference library which has been further enriched by Rahul Collections consisting of some four thousand Tibetan and more than one thousand and six hundred other Mss. Most of the Tibetan manuscripts are yet to be deciphered and transliterated. A descriptive catalogue of all the manuscripts preserved in this library is a desideratum.

There is a research library at Arrah also which goes by the name of Jain Siddhanta Bhavana. Its collections mostly pertains to Jain religion and literature. It has nearly four thousand manuscripts in Kannada character of which they have a title index but a subjectwise descriptive catalogue is yet to be prepared.

The largest library of the State in the Sinha Library at Patna. Its present collection of books and journals comes to approximately 1.5 lakh volumes. It was established in 1922 by Late Dr. S. N. Sinha. This library is owned and managed by a trust declared by a deed in 1926. The Government of Bihar leased out a plot of land measuring 2.28 acre to the trust, in the same year, on a token rent of Re. 1/– per annum. In 1955 the Sinha Library Trust entered into an agreement with the Government of Bihar according to which this library was declared the State Central Library and given the status of a government aided educational institution. Space was provided in the library building for the office of Superintendent of Libraries, Bihar who according to the said agreement was made ex-officio Chief Librarian of Sinha Library. In 1983 Government of Bihar promulgated an ordinance for complete take-over of Sinha Library. But the trust has challenged the constitutional validity of the ordinance and the matter is pending in the Supreme Court.

Among other big libraries of this State are Shardasadan Library at Lalganj and Shrikrishna Sevasadan Library at Munger, both having a collection of over sixty thousand books. Shardasadan was established in 1914. At present it is managed by a trust. Though situated in a small town, it is a rich library. Besides Hindi and English, the library has a good collection of Pali and Prakrit texts. Shrikrishna Sevasadan was

established in the year 1949 on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee of Dr. Shrikrishna Sinha's birth (March 29). In 1959 Dr. Sinha donated his valuable personal collection of books, numbering approximately twenty thousand, to this library. Bhagawan Pustakalaya, Bhagalpur, though having a smaller collection of books than the above named two libraries, is older than the two, being established in 1913. Since its establishment, it has remained one of the most active libraries of the State and at present it has the status of a divisional library. Other extant old libraries recognised and aided by State Government are Bihar Hitaishi Pustakalaya, Patna City (established in 1883), Public Library, Gaya (established in 1885) and Maharaja Harendra Kishore Public Library, Bettiah (established in 1905). Some of their rare collections are threatened with extinction and it is time efforts are made for their preservation.

Other libraries functioning from the pre-independence days and recognised and aided by the Government as district/sub-divisional libraries, right from the first plan period, are the following ones :

(1) Abhyudaya Sahitya Samaj Pustakalaya, Daltanganj (1915)

(2) Yuvaka Pustakalaya, Madhubani (1916)

(3) Sanatana Dharma Pustakalaya, Sitamarhi (1917)

(4) Public Library, Aurangabad (1918)

(5) Yajna Narain Bala Hindi Pustakalaya, Vaina, Buxar (1919)

(6) Hindi Pustakalaya, Biharshariff (1920)

(7) Shri Krishna Pustakalaya, Garhwa (1924)

(8) Navajiwan Pustakalaya, Samastipur (1928)

(9) Kanhaiyalal Pustakalaya, Siwan (1929)

(10) Yuvaka Pustakalaya, Motihari (1931)

(11) Shri Krishna Pustakalaya, Hajipur (1932)

(12) Svarna Jayanti Pustakalaya, Begusarai (1935)

(13) Suhrid Sangha Pustakalaya, Muzaffarpur (1935)

(14) Shri Nandan Pustakalaya, Chapra (1935)

(15) Tribhuvana Pustakalaya, Bikram (1940)

(16) Jai Hind Pustakalaya, Giridih (1942) and

(17) Nava Yuvaka Sangh Pustakalaya, Araria (1942).

Besides, there are numerous others situated even in remote villages.

In pre-independence days libraries played a significant role in the mass education programme, launched in 1933 and later re-named 'social education', and also in the circulation of the underground literature pertaining to the struggle for freedom. The hand bills would be concealed in books and thus passed from hand to hand. Among the conscious people libraries being important centres of social life, they provided meeting grounds for the freedom fighters. Political leaders would choose libraries as venues of public meetings, in course of their itinerary they would visit the libraries. After the earthquake of 1935, in course of his Bihar visit, Mahatma Gandhi had a brief stay at the Sharadasadana Pustakalya, Lalganj. He wrote in the visitor's book—'Buildings (of libraries) may be damaged but this cannot damage the cause of learning', which is well-preserved in the library even today.

In 1937 the mass education programme was renamed as social education and the libraries continued as its centres. Henceforth, in some cases, expenses of libraries were to be partially subsidized by the local bodies and the Inspector of Schools was empowered to visit and inspect the libraries. Even then, libraries remained autonomous and by and large they thrived on social support. In the wake of the growing library-consciousness, Library Associations were formed. The All India Library Association was formed in 1933 and the Bihar Library Association was formed in 1936.[1]

Next phase of library movement in Bihar begins with the post (Second World) War re-organization. Under this programme libraries were to be aided and equipped to function as efficient centres of literacy and social education. In the wake of this movement libraries were established in remote villages through public efforts and they continued to be nouri-

1. A History of Libraries by Alfred Hessel, translated by Mardan Singh Parihar 1st edition (Madhya Pradesh Hindi Granth Academy, 1974), p. 274.

shed mainly by society. In 1950, the Government of Bihar adopted a resolution to establish, re-organize and aid public libraries. The resolution envisaged to establish or take over one public library at each of the (then only seventeen) district head-quarters, with a State Central Library at Patna. Other libraries were classified as subdivisional, block and village libraries. A separate class of special libraries too was formed. All these libraries were to be suitably aided by the Government for their efficient functioning. Post of the Superintendent of Libraries was created with supporting staff to look after the libraries and disburse Government grants to them.

Under the joint auspices of Superintendent of Libraries and the Bihar Library Association a programme was started in 1952 for training the working librarians. Two types of courses were formulated—one for matriculates and the other for graduates, of one month's and two month's duration respectively, called the junior and senior certificate courses in librarianship. Four training centres, one each at Patna, Ranchi, Bhagalpur and Muzaffarpur, were established for the junior certificate and one at Patna (Sinha Library) for senior certificate. The courses are still running.

In 1954 Mobile and Children's library scheme was introduced. Under this scheme each of the district central libraries was provided with one van and six cycles with adequate staff. One librarian, one part time librarian for children's library, one driver, one cleaner and six book-porters. Books were taken from the district central libraries to the rural deposit centres and from thence delivered at the door steps of the readers by the porters and then collected back and so on. This scheme was wound up in 1978.

Establishment of the Raja Ram Mohan Roy Library Foundation in 1972 with headquarters at Calcutta (DD 34, Sector 1, Salt Lake City) has been a big stride in library movement. The Foundation is an autonomous organization sponsored by Ministry of Education and Culture, Government of India to support and promote library movement in the country. Its basic objective is to extend library facilities for the people in co-operation with the State Governments and the Union Territory Administrations and Voluntary Organizations. Foundation's pro-

grammes include assistance on a matching basis for (1) book-purchase, (2) storage, (3) building extension, (4) purchase of audio-visual and other library equipments and (5) running mobile library units. From the financial year 1985-86 the Foundation has raised its contribution to Bihar from Rs. 2 lakh to Rs. 5 lakh provided the State Government agreed to match it. Government of Bihar agreed to match the enhanced contribution of the Foundation and accordingly it granted Rs. 5 lakh in 1985-86 for this purpose.

Present annual library Budget of the Bihar Government is approximately Rs. 45·00 lakh in both plan and non-plan sectors. With Raja Ram Mohan Roy Library Foundations contribution of Rs. 5 lakh added, it comes to approximately Rs. 50 lakh which is very meagre considering the size and population of the State. With this meagre provision the State Government is supposed to somehow aid all the libraries, the total number whereof according to a survey conducted by the Superintendent of Libraries in 1964, comes to approximately 4500. Undoubtedly there is great need of enhancing the provision.

It has not been possible to give regular financial grants to the village and the block libraries, number whereof, according to the aforesaid survey, is approximately 4000 and 432 respectively. They are only given books from the Raja Ram Mohan Roy Library Foundation scheme and the State Government's annual purchase, Rs. 1.05 lakh being earmarked every year for the latter. Now and then they are also given something by way of building-repair and furniture-purchase grant from the plan fund.

Six libraries are run by the Government directly—one Urdu Library at Patna and one general library each at Ranchi, Dhanbad, Chaibasa, Dumka and Purnea. Their annual establishment cost together with the annual establishment cost of the Superintendent's office comes to nearly Rs. 8.00 lakh. Sinha (State Central) Library, Patna and the Shrikrishan Sevasadan (District Central Library, Munger) are maintained by the State Government as deficit grant institutions. Only a part of the annual

expenditure of rest of the district central libraries (31)[1] and the sub-divisional libraries (20)[2] and the special libraries (7)[3] are met by the Government grant which is equal to the salary requirement of the staff (numbering over two hundred) at basic level of the scale and some fixed amount for the purchase of books and newspapers. The present annual salary grant is Rs. 41,400/- for the divisional library (the district central library which is situated at the divisional headquarter and recognised as divisional library), Rs. 16600/- for the district library and Rs. 10200/- for the subdivisional library. Among the special libraries Shardasadan, Lalganj is

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1. 1. Bhagalpur
2. Darbhanga
3. Chapra
4. Muzaffarpur
5. Gaya
6. Saharsa
7. Hazaribag
8. Patna City
9. Arrah
10. Biharshariff
11. Rohtas
12. Aurangabad
13. Nawada
14. Sitamarhi
15. Hajipur
16. Motihari
17. Bettiah
18. Siwan
19. Gopalganj
20. Madhubani
21. Samastipur
22. Begusarai
23. Katihar
34. Madhepura
25. Godda
26. Sahabganj
27. Khagaria
28. Daltonganj
29. Giridih
30. Gumla
31. Lohardagga

(Deoghar has one recognised district central library and Jehanabad has still a sub-divisional library).

2. 1. Jehanabad
2. Chailitad (Patna City)
3. Bikram (Danapur)
4. Barh
5. Hilsa
6. Buxar
7. Rosera
8. Araria
9. Banka
10. Supaul
11. Jammui
12. Lakhisarai
13. Khunti
14. Simdega
15. Saraikela
16. Garhwa
17. Latehar
18. Chatra
19. Pakur
20. Udakisunganj

(Rest of the sub-divisions have not so far recognized sub-divisional libraries).

3. 1. Sharadasdan, Lalganj
2. Mahila Charkha Sangh Library Kadamkuan, Patna
3 Gait Public Library, Gardanibagh, Patna
4. Gopal Narain Public Library, Bhartpura (Patna)
5. Hindi Pustakalaya, Sohasarai (Nalanda)
6. Jain Niketan Pustakalaya Parsumni Chak (Sitmarhi)
7. Ram Sharan Das Smaraka Pustakalaya, Mordiba, Samstipur.

placed on par with the district libraries. Others (Gopal Narain public Library, Bharatpura, Mahila Charkha Sangh, Kadamkuan, Patna, Gait Public Library Gardanibagh, Patna; Hindi Pustakalaya, Sohsarai; Jnana Niketan Pustakalaya, Pursauni, Sitamarhi and Ram Sharan Das Smaraka Pustakalaya, Mordiba, (Samastipur) get a fixed establishment grant of Rs. 3000/- per annum.

Besides poor budget allocation the libraries also suffer from inadequate administrative infrastructure. At present there is only one officer for the libraries of the whole State viz. the Superintendent of libraries. At district and sub-divisional levels he is expected to be assisted by respective DEOs and SDEOs. But these officers have been feeling that it is a task imposed on them. Hence, they act, but just according to their choice and conveniences. Co-ordination of libraries in clusters—four or five Panchayat libraries being attached to each block library and the block libraries being attached to the respective sub-divisional libraries and so on upto the State Central library, could have eased the administrative burden to a great extent. In fact building a system like this was the idea behind establishment/recognition of the district central and sub-divisional libraries. Then one officer at each district headquarters, with the Superintendent at the State headquarters, could manage the entire library administration efficiently.

The Bihar Library Association and the employees of the libraries have been clamouring, since long, for liberary legislation in this State. It is necessary to have it since it may help streamline the library administration and make the libraries work in a coordinated system. Some of the states have already had it : Tamil Nadu in 1948, Andhra Pradesh in 1960, Karnataka in 1965, Maharashtra in 1967 and West Bengal in 1979. Bihar should not lag much behind.

In the present day milieu libraries can be made to play a very significant role. Our education system has to bear an additional burden of educating the illiterate masses who constitute more than 60% of the total population. For this purpose the formal system of education is being re-inforced by non-formal and adult education programmes. In

these programmes the rural libraries can play a significant role as centres of literacy and post literacy programmes. Adult education is not simply adult literacy, its ultimate goal is to equip the hitherto uneducated individual with socially useful knowledge so as to make him an efficient component of society. In this regard the libraries can be used as social education and information centres.

With a view to reaching higher education to large number of people with smaller cost and in spare time, the Open University system is being adopted. Bihar has already established Nalanda Open University. Our district and sub-divisional libraries may be equipped with curricular materials and used as study centres of the Open University.

So the need of the hour is to revamp the libraries and coordinate them with the non-formal, adult and distance education programmes. The State Government has shown a kind gesture to the libraries by making an allocation of Rs. 30.00 lakh in the Seventh Plan for establishing and developing an Oriental Library. But the fund is yet to be utilized. For proper utilization the money has to reach the proper agency which is neither the Sanskrit University nor the Department of Sanskrit Education but the Department of Libraries.

The High Court of Judicature at Patna in the Background of the History of the Development of Judicial Administration in India from the British Period*

HON'BLE Mr. K. B. N. SINGH

The High Court of Judicature at Patna completed sixty years of its existence in 1976. It started functioning from the first day of March, 1916, with Hon'ble Sir Edward Des Champs Chamier, Kt., as the Chief Justice and Hon'ble Mr. Justice S. Sharfuddin, Hon'ble Mr. Justice E. P. Chapman, Hon'ble Mr. Justice B. K. Mullik, Hon'ble Mr. Justice F. R. Roe, Hon'ble Mr. Justice C. Atkinson and Hon'ble Mr. Justice Jwala Prasad (later Sir Jwala Prassad) as Puisne Judges. Prior to that, the whole territory of Bihar and Orissa, although constituted as a separate province in 1912, was under the jurisdiction of the High Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal (now called the Calcutta High Court). By Letters Patent granted on the 9th day of February, 1916, George the Fifth, King-Emperor of India, erected and established, for the Province of Bihar and Orissa, a High Court of Judicature at Patna, and ordained, amongst other things, that the jurisdiction of the High Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal, in any matter in which jurisdiction was given to the High Court of Judicature at Patna, should cease from the date of publication of the Letters Patent in the Bihar and Orissa Gazette. In other words, after the separation of Bihar and Orissa from Bengal, the High Court at Calcutta, one of the first three High

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* By Courtesy of *The Patna High Court Diamond Jubillee Commemoration Vol.*, Part I, 1977.

Courts established in India under the provisions of the Indian High Courts Act, 1861, transferred its jurisdiction so far as the newly-created province of Bihar and Orissa was concerned to the Patna High Court. Similarly, as will be related later, on the creation of separate province of Orissa, though long after the event, the Patna High Court transferred its jurisdiction over Orissa to the Orissa High Court.

The evolution of the British Judicial system in India culminating in the establishment of the first three High Courts at Calcutta, Madras and Bombay is a highly interesting subject, but at the same time, the task is fraught with too many difficulties, especially in relation to the evolution of the Judicial system in India during the early part of the East India Company's rule. It was perhaps only Sir Charles Fawcett, who, in his *The First Century of the British Justice in India*—a work of stupendous labour and research-strove to establish that a fully thought-out system of Judicial administration was sought to be introduced in India, i. e, in Bombay, by the East India Company as early as in 1672. Other scholars and historians dismissed the idea that such an impartial and independent judicial system was sought to be introduced by the Company prior to the establishment of the Mayor's Courts at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras by the Royal Charter of 1726. The reason behind such dismissal is not far to seek. Every serious student of history will notice that the history of the Courts of law established by the Company during this period is so much intermingled with the history of the executive that it is very difficult to come to a definite conclusion that effective action was taken by the Company to establish such Courts of law prior to 1726. The political history of India during this period bears ample testimony to the fact that the East India Company was then more after promotion of its trading interest in India than establishment of well-governed territories where the Judiciary would play an independent role. Moreover, the territories gained by the Company in India during this period were, with the exception of Bombay, in the nature of settlements granted either by the Moghul Emperor or the local Indian potentates and the Company's possession over them was obviously precarious. It is, however, worth-

while following Fawcett in tracing the early history of the Judiciary in these English settlements in India, with special reference to Bombay.

As already stated, the position of Bombay was somewhat different. Formerly a Portuguese possession, it was given as a marriage-gift by the King of Portugal to Charles II, the King of England, in 1661, who, in his turn, gave it to the Company, on a nominal quit rent, in 1668. The Royal Charter issued by Charles II on this occasion permitted the Comany, amongst other things, to appoint Judges and other Officers to judge and determine all Actions, Suits and Causes whatsoever, and to award punishment according to such Laws, Orders, Ordinances and Constitution as were to be made by the Company for the good Government of Bombay. The Charter further ordained that the laws and the penalties to be prescribed by the Company should be "Consonant to Reason, and not Repugnant or Contrary to, but as near may be, agreeable to Laws of England". Fawcett took his cue from these declarations and proceeded find out whether the Company actually did formulate such Laws in obedience to what was ordained in the Charter. According to Fawcett, such Laws were actually formulated, "settled and engrossed" in 1669 by the Company's executives in England, a copy of which was brought to Bombay by Gerald Aungier, the then, Governor of Surat. But Fawcett had to admit that "the Laws" remained in theoretical existence and were never acted upon, in as much as no steps were taken by the Company to send out a Judge or other staff for the proposed Court to administer such Laws. Moreover, as to the merits of the "Laws", Fawcett has frankly admitted that they were drafted without reference to the special circumstances in Bombay and were, therefore, unfit to be brought into force. As a matter of fact, Fawcett could not discover any fragment of the "Laws" in the archives of Bombay.

It was on the 8th August, 1672 that a Court, in accordance with the recommendations made in the Charter of 1668, was established in Bombay. This was called the "Court of Judicature" and the credit for it must go to Gerald Aungier, the then Governor of Surat, who was anxious to see that justice be done impartially to the inhabitants of Bombay according to the English law, as far as practicable. The inaugural speech

delivered by Gerald Aungier, especially the portion reflecting his sincere desire to see impartial justice dealt to all, without fear, favour, or respect of persons, is worth quoting:—

> "The Inhabitants of this Island consist of several nations and religions to wit—English, Portuguese,, and other Christians, Moores, and Jentues, but you, when you sit in this seat of Justice and Judgment, must look upon them with one/single eye as I doe, without distinction of Nation or Religion, for they are all his Majesties and the Hon'ble Company's subjects as the English are, and have all an equal title and right to Justice and you must doe them Justice, even the meanest person of the Island, and in particular the Poore, the Orphan, the Widdow and the stranger, in all matters of controversy, of Common Right, of Meum and Tuum (Mine and Thine, meaning dispute about private rights). And this not only one against the other, but even against myself and those who are in office under me, may against the Hon'ble Company themselves, when Law, Reason and Equity shall require you to soe to doe, for this is your Duty and therein will you be justified, and in soe doing God will be with you to strengthen you, his Majestie and the Company will commend you and reward you I, in my place, shall be ready to assist, countenance, honour and protect you to the utmost of the power and authority entrusted to me; and soe I pray God give his blessing."[1]

All these noble sentiments expressed by the worthy Governor did not, however, go to build a tradition of impartial and independent Judiciary. History shows that the subsequent Governors and the officials of the Company acted just to the contrary, and the period during which the Court of Judicature at Bombay remained in existence,—except the short one when Wilcox was the Judge and Aungier was the Governor,—was full of accounts of administrative high handedness, plots, counter-plots, and vilitication of Judges.

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1. Quoted at pp. 54-55 of Fawcett's *First Century of British Justice in India* (1934 *Edn.*).

As for the laws applied, the manner of disposal of cases and the structure of the Court of Judicature, a few words will suffice. The Court of Judicature did away with the prevalent Portuguese laws, adopted English laws as abridged and made rough and ready by the Company. All civil actions, except those of petty nature which generally came under the jurisdiction of a "Court of Conscience where the Poore may have justice done to them gratis", were tried with the aid of Jury. For trial of criminal cases, which was also done with the aid of Jury, the Court ordinarily sat once a month for its "General Sessions" and cases undisposed of, if any, were adjourned to a "Petty Sessions"; which was held before the next General Sessions.

In Madras also, Streynsham Master, the Governor, who had been earlier in the Council of Gerald Aungier at Surat, established, by virtue of the Royal Charter of 1661, a Court of Judicature on the 18th March, 1678. This Court, constituted of the Governor and the Council, used to sit twice a week for the trial of all civil and criminal cases with the aid of Jury, barring of course, cases of petty nature which used to be tried without such aid. It will thus be seen that unlike Bombay, this Court of Judicature at Madras had, in the beginning, the character more of a judicious body than of a judicial court. In 1687, however, with the arrival of Sir John Biggs, an English Barrister as a Judge, the Court of Judicature became a truly judicial Court.

The conditions at Calcutta remained too unfavourable for creation of a separate Court of Judicature on the pattern of Bombay, or of that obtaining in Madras, and, in fact, in 1698 the Council at Calcutta was instructed to send prisoners to Madras for trial. The Company never authorised any regular court of judicature at Calcutta other than that of the Governor and his Council up to 1728, when the Mayor's Court was established there.

The next phase of the development of Judiciary in the three Presidency towns of Bombay, Madras and Calcutta was the establishment of the Mayor's Courts to try civil cases and Courts of Oyer, Terminer and Gaol Delivery to try criminal cases, roughly on the pattern obtaining in England in the early part of the eighteenth century. The major changes

brought about by the establishment of these Courts were as follows. The Courts hitherto established in India were not recognised by the Courts of England as such, on the ground that they derived their authority not from the King but from the Company. The Royal Charter of 1726 and the Letters Patent (13th Geo. 1) granted by the King establishing such Courts cured this defect as they came to be recognised by the Courts of England as Royal courts in the true sense of the term. The Privy Council in England became the appellate court from the decisions of the Mayor's Courts in cases valued above 1,000 Pagodas (Rs. 3,000); appeals from the decisions of such Courts in cases valued less than this, however, lay before the Governor and Council. This provision for appeal to the Privy Council, which continued thereafter was instrumental in establishing a bridge between the English and the Indian legal systems and created a favourable ground for the later codification of the Indian laws in 1833 on the basis of English laws. The Mayor's Courts which were the precursors of the Supreme Courts may thus be termed as a "useful link in the chain that led to the establishment of the improved Courts of the nineteenth century."[1] These were the Courts of Records, and except in Calcutta, Mayor's Courts lasted till 1798, when they were replaced by Recorder's Court. In Calcutta, however, by Regulating Act of 1773, the Supreme Court was established, abolishing the Mayor's Court.

II

Before proceeding to the establishment and functioning of the Supreme Court at Calcutta, it would be worthwhile to give, within a short compass, an account of the Courts established under the authority of the East India Company in India, commonly known as "Company's Courts" in contradistinction with Courts established under the authority of any Royal Charter. The setting up of the "Company's Courts" was necessitated by the administrative responsibility the Company gradually assumed over the territories conquered or acquired by it in India.

Every one knows the history of the Company's entry in Bengal (now comprising the whole of West Bengal, the Bangla Desh and the

1. Op. cit. p. 217.

States of Bihar and Orissa) as the Dewan on behalf of the Moghul Emperor, and the chaotic condition that immediately followed during the period of so-called "Dyarchy". Leaving aside the terrible famine of 1771, which visited Bengal during this period, the Company's revenue returns also diminished to a considerable extent. In this background, the Board of Directors of the Company in London adopted a resolution in the year 1771 itself to take upon themselves, through the agency of their servants, "the entire care and management of revenue" of this territory. The Company asked Warren Hastings, then Governor of Calcutta, "to adopt such regulations and pursue such measures" *as shall ensure to us every possible advantage* and free the ryots from the oppressions of zamindars and petty tyrants". Accordingly, in 1772, Warren Hastings set out an elaborate judicial plan, the principal features of which are given below.

For the purpose of revenue and civil judicial administration, the territory was divided into several districts, placing each district under one English Collector, who would also administer civil justice according to the laws of the contesting parties, i. e., Hindu Law or Mohammedan Law, with the aid of Indian law officers.

Appeals from the decisions of those Courts, called Mofussil Diwani Adalats, would lie in the Sadar Diwani Adalat constituted of the Governor and his Council.

So far as the administration of criminal justice was concerned, it was left to the titular Nawab of Bengal, who appointed officials to administer the same, with the approval of the Governor. The law to be administered for trial of offences remained to be the Muslim Law of Crimes. The original criminal trial courts established at each district headquarters were called Mufassil Fouzdari Adalat, and the appellate court was Sadar Nizamat Adalat. The English Collectors were given only supervisory power over Mofussil Fouzdari Adalats. The reason for this differential treatment lay in the fact that, according to the Moghul system of administration, the Company as Diwan should have no criminal jurisdiction which should be exercised by the Nawab.

In 1790 Lord Cornwallis exploded the myth of the titular Nawab's criminal jurisdiction and the Company's Court assumed criminal jurisdiction as well. The Judges of the Diwani Adalat were vested with magisterial powers, circuit courts were established for trial of criminal cases and the Sadar Nizamat Adalat was reconstituted of the Governor-General and his Council.

Particular reference may be made of a short-lived institution called Provincial Councils at five divisional headquarters established by Warren Hastings in 1774, when English Collectors were recalled from the districts. These Provincial Councils constituted of covenanted English officers of the Company were vested with powers to deal with revenue matters and decide civil cases. As will be related later on, the legal existence of these Councils was challenged by the Supreme Court when it came into existence in 1774.

The subsequent history of the development of the Company's Courts is too full of details to be elaborately dealt with within the short compass of this article. Generally speaking, for a long time, the principal consideration, which weighed with the Company, was "economy" in the matter of administrative expenses—and they always wanted to combine disparate functions like administrations of revenue, civil and criminal justice in one person. Yet, enlightened Governors like Cornwallis, Bentinck and others, realising the formidable difficulty and chances of maladministration in such setup, tried their best to give the country a clean system of administration based on liberal and rational principles.

In course of time and after numberless experimental reforms—both in the structure of law courts and codification of procedural laws—the present district and subdivisional courts of law, as they exist now, came into being. The year 1801 marked the close of the chapter of the highest courts of appeal—Sadar Diwani Adalat and Sadar Nizamat Adalat—being constituted of the Governor and his Council and Judges began to be appointed by the Governor for those Courts. It would be interesting to note that for a considerable period Indian Judges like the Munsifs and Amins used to get no salary but a certain percentage of the

court-fees paid in cases heard by them as remuneration, and they had no power to give final decisions in cases even.

From the foregoing it will be seen that, before the Supreme Court came into being the Company had established its own courts in hierarchical order for administration of justice in civil and revenue matters at least according to the native laws of the country, and these Courts were under the administrative control of the Company.

III

The object behind the establishment of the Supreme Court at Calcutta in 1774 was entirely different from that which led to the establishment of the Mayor's Courts in the three residency towns, as related above. The ostentatious show made by the Nabobs (retired servants of the Company) in England and the tales of their acts of atrocity and corrupt practices in India had caused sufficient stir in the mind of the enlightened section of the British public. English Liberals, therefore, under the leadership of Edmund Burke, moved the Parliament to make a probe into the affairs of the Company in India. Burke and his followers wanted the British Government to frame legislations for exercising greater control and supervision over the Company's proceedings in India, including entire separation of Judiciary from the Executive Branch of the administration of the Company and putting the former exclusively under the control of the Crown. Needless to say, the Company wanted just the reverse and even sought to introduce a Bill in the House of Commons for establishment of a Company's Supreme Court which would have jurisdiction over all "Christian person in India"—meaning thereby the Company's English servants and the foreign European traders in India. For the Indians, the existing Adalats established by Warran Hastings in Bengal were thought to be sufficient. The Company's attempt, however, failed, and the Parliament appointed a Committee of Secrecy to make a probe into the affairs of the Company in India. This Committee submitted its report in 1773, making the following statement with regard to the judicial system :—

"So far as they were able to judge from all the information laid before them, the subjects of the Moghul Empire in that province

derived little protection or security from any of these courts; and that in general, though forms of judicature were established and preserved, *the despotic principles of the Government* rendered them instruments of power rather than of justice; not only unavailing to protect the people, but often the means of the most grievous oppressions under the cloak of judicial character."[1]

The aftermath, rather the immediate effect of this Report, was the enactment by the Parliament of a legislation in 1773 itself, commonly called "the Regulating Act" (13 Geo. III, c. 63) which unequivocally stated that the Charter establishing the Mayor's Court in Calcutta did not sufficiently provide for administration of justice in such manner as the state and condition of the Company's Presidency of Fort William in Bengal "do and must require". Section 13 of the Act empowered the King in Council to establish, by Charter, a Supreme Court at Calcutta, which should have powers to exercise all civil, criminal, admiralty and ecclesiastical jurisdiction over all who are "His Majesty's subjects", and "over Christian persons" only, as the Company would have it. The Act went further and conferred jurisdiction on the Supreme Court over all the executive acts of the Company and a veto on all its legislation. These two provisions, until they were rescinded by the subsequent Act of 1781, conferred enormous power on the Supreme Court which, when exercised by it, might (and it actually did) paralyse the entire governmental activities of the Company.

The enactment was followed by a Royal Charter establishing, in 1774, the Supreme Court at Calcutta with Sir Elijah Impey as the Chief Justice and Mr. Justice Robert Chambers, Mr. Justice Stephen Caesar LeMaistre and Mr. Justice John Hyde as the Puisne Judges—all Barristers of not less than five years' standing, as the Act required. There being no provision in the Charter as to under which law the Supreme Court will administer justice, it was assumed that it would follow the English law and procedure, as did the then defunct Mayor's Court.

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1. P. 35 of Herberd Cowell's *History and Constitution of the Courts and Legislative Authoritled in India* (1936 Edn.).

Neither the Act nor the Charter having made any reference to the Company's Courts already established or their power to decide cases, the Supreme Court simply disregarded their statutory existence, even of the Sadar Diwani Adalat constituted of the Governor and his Council. Moreover, the expression "His Majesty's subject" defied any precise definition especially in the context of the highly controversial position of the Company as the Diwan of the Moghul Emperor. The legal impasse created has been succinctly described by Sir Charles Napier Grey thus :—

> "There was not either in the Statute or in the Charter any declaration who are and who are not subjects, nor whether any of the territorial acquisitions amounted to an acquisition of the territory itself or to anything more than powers to be exercised within the territories of the Moghul."[1]

Armed with such vast and undefined powers, the Supreme Court put forth its new authority, to the astonishment and terror of the Company's Executive Government as well as the Indians, who never imagined that a Court of Justice could wield such enormous power over the all-powerful executive Government of the Company. For eight long years, i. e., from 1774 to 1781, the Supreme Court exercised this vast power, though not, strictly speaking, in excess of its jurisdiction given under the Act, haling Companys's Executive Officers, irrespective of their status, to justice for acts done even in *bona fide* discharge of their duties. Readers of history are well aware of the impossible situation created in the case of Nancomer and especially that of Raja of Cossijurah where the Governor and his Council were summoned. Prosecutions were carried on by the Supreme Court against the Judges of the Revenue and Civil Courts for acts done in the regular performance of their business. While questioning the authority of the Provincial Chief and Council of Dacca, the Supreme Court went to the length of saying :—

> "They (Provincial Chief and Council) are no *corporation* in the eye of law...... A man might as well say he was commanded by

1. P. 40—Herbert Cowell—*Ibid.*

the King of the Fairies as by the Provincial Council of Dacca, because law knows no such body."[1]

Moreover, the Supreme Court being also a Court of Equity, the anomalous position that might be created in such a situation has been very aptly described by Cowell thus :—

"....it might sit one day on its common law side and give judgment to a suitor, and on the next day might sit on its equity side and restrain the suitor from proceeding to execution. It might on one side adjudge a man to be absolute owner of property, and on the other side consign him to perpetual imprisonment if he did not, in his character of trustee, forthwith give it up to those beneficially entitled."[2]

In short, the plan of controlling the Company's Government by the King's Court, as envisaged by the Parliament, entirely failed due to hasty drafting of the Act without taking into consideration the social and political *milieu* in India. Reviewing this initial period of the Supreme Court's "rule" in Bengal, Mecaulay in his wonted rhetorical manner said :—

"No Mahratta invasion had ever spread through the province such dismay as this inroad of English lawyers; all the injustice of former oppressors, Asiatic and Europeans, appeared as a blessing compared with the justice of the Supreme Court."[3]

Exaggeration no doubt, but, to put an end to the administrative deadlock and allay panic among the people, it was essential that the Supreme Court's power should be curtailed and clearly defined. This was done by the Act of 1781. (21 Geo. 3, c. 70).

This Act, in one respect, completely reversed the policy behind enacting the Regulating Act, by recognizing the Civil and Criminal Provincial Courts, existing independently of the Supreme Court, and the

1. Cowell—*Ibid* p. 51.
2. *Cowell—Ibid* p. 42.
3. Mecaulay—*Essays*. Vol. III p. 388,

Governor-General and Council or some Committee thereof as the Chief Appellate Court of the country, and vesting them with power to frame regulations for these provincial courts independently of the Supreme Court. As for the Supreme Court's jurisdiction, it was limited thus: This Court ceased to have any jurisdiction in any matter concerning the revenue or concerning any acts ordered or done in the collection thereof or the regulations of the Governor-General and Council. The Governor-General and Council would no longer be subject, jointly or severally, to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court "for or by reason of any act or order, or any other matter or thing whatsoever, counselled, ordered or done by them in their public capacity only and acting as Governor-General and Council". It was also clearly mentioned that no action for wrong or injury would lie in the Supreme Court against any person whatsoever exercising a judicial office in the country courts for any of his judicial decisions, nor against any person acting thereunder. In short, the Supreme Court retained its jurisdiction over the "British subjects" (a somewhat ambiguous term) so far as the written orders of the Governor-General and Council affecting them were concerned, and power to determine all actions and suits against the inhabitants of the city of Calcutta according to the Hindu, Muslim or English law, by which the parties might be governed with a proviso that, in a case where the parties are guided by different schools of law, the law of the defendant would be adopted for deciding such case.

That the amendments made by the Act of 1781 were realistically sound is amply borne out by the authority and respect the Supreme Court won during the subsequent period of eighty years of its existence. And, Cowell has rightly put, the Supreme Court had taught both the English rulers and their Indian subjects that respect for law, which is the foundation of social order, and, perhaps, the greatest gift which the United Kingdom had in its power to bestow on India.

One fact of mere historical interest may be noted here. In 1780, Warren Hastings made an attempt to combine the Supreme Court and the Company's highest court appeal in Calcutta—a precursor of the High

Court—by appointing the then Chief Justice of Supreme Court, Sir Elijah Impey, as the sole Judge of the Sadar Diwani Adalat also. Sir Elijah accepted this post and did memorable work in codifying the procedural law for the Civil Courts—the earliest of its kind. But the House of Commons, by a resolution adopted in 1782, recalled Impey from Sadar Diwani Adalat, and thus ended the initial attempt to establish a sort of High Court in the country.

In Bombay and Madras, the Supreme Courts were established much later. As a matter of fact, the Mayor's Courts continued in existence at both the places till 1798, when they were replaced by another type of Cout called Recorder's Court, consisting of the Mayor and Alderman and one lawyer Judge called Recorder. The Recorder's Court at Madras was replaced by the Supreme Court in 1800 and that at Bombay in 1823. The Recorder's Court at Bombay also had a bitter dispute with the Company's Executives over the question of jurisdiction to issue a writ of *habeas corpus* in respect of a person residing in Poona. The dispute was, however, settled by the Privy Council in appeal, deciding in favour of the Executive.

IV

The Supreme Court at Calcutta, as we have seen, began the first phase (1774-1781) of its existence in discredit and with general reprobation. But, during the second phase, which covered a much wider period, i.e. 80 years (1781-1861), it obtained a lasting hold on the respect and confidence alike of the Indians as well as the Europeans, including the Company's servants.

This long second phase of the existence of the Supreme Court at Calcutta can be termed as a period of interregnum, during which the two sets of Courts, namely, the Crown's Courts (which included the Courts of Request existing in the Presidency Courts for disposal of petty cases) and the Company's Courts, went on functioning, more or less, in a state of peaceful co-existence. Initially, there was no inclination on the part of the Company to proceed in the direction of amalgamating them or bring

about uniformity of practice. There was a separative tendency prevailing for a long time, the origin of which could be ascribed to the peculiar history of a mercenary organisation like the East India Company which chanced to acquire a vast empire in India, somewhat like a tortuitous accident. Naturally, therefore, the Company's Executives viewed with some jealousy and mistrust any move on the part of the Crown for uniformity of practice and better administration of the country.

The historic revolt of 1857 changed the whole course of events and over-shadowed the past moves and attitudes. The Company's rule over India was over and the Indian Empire was consolidated under the Queen. The British Government and the enlightened members of the British public foresaw that, in re-establishing and consolidating this new empire, something more than an imperial army, Government or legislature was needed, and that requirement was a uniform system of judicial administration.

Practically speaking, this is the real origin of the move for amalgamation of the two systems of judicial administration then existing in India. But to achieve this end, a vast ground work had to be made. The earlier abortive attempt made by the Regulating Act of 1773 to achieve this end was an eye opener to the Government. The laws followed in the Courts of India were diverse and, in course of the last eight years, the Company's procedural laws and those of the Supreme Courts had drifted wide apart from each other. The first requirement was then to have a uniform criminal law, a uniform civil law, as far as practicable, within the framework of the differing personal laws of the Indians based on religion. Therefore, the codification of the major laws of the country, including procedural laws, generally based on the English legal system was taken up by the different Law Commissions appointed by the Crown from time to time. It is only when the task was more or less complete that the Indian High Courts Act, 1861 came up before the British Parliament for consideration. The Act provided, amongst other things that on the establishment of the High Courts in the three presidency towns of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, the Supreme Courts, the Ṣadar Dịwanị Aḍalạts and the

Sadar Nizamat Adalats existing then at those places were to be abolished and each High Court, subject to the directions to be given in the Charter was to have and exercise all jurisdiction and every power, including the power of Superintendence over the courts subject to its appellate jurisdiction and authority whatsoever "in any manner vested in any of the courts" thus abolished. Needless to say the records and documents of these abolished courts were to become part of the records and documents of the respective High Courts.

The Royal Charter or Letters Patent for the Calcutta High Court was issued on May 14, 1862 and was published at Calcutta on July 1, 1862, when the High Court at Calcutta came into being with the Hon'ble Sir Barnes Peacock, the last Chief Justice of the Supreme Court at Calcutta, as its first Chief Justice, and thirteen other Judges, of whom two were Judges of the Supreme Court and five were Judges of the Sadar Adalat.

The High Courts at Madras and Bombay were established in the same year, and were vested with similar powers and jurisdiction. There was something special about the revenue jurisdiction. These three High Courts, at the beginning, were given jurisdiction in any matter concerning revenue—a jurisdiction which was taken away from the Supreme Court at Calcutta by the Act of Settlement of 1781. Curiously enough, the revenue jurisdiction was again snatched away from the Original Side of these High Courts by the Government of India Act, 1915, although, on the Appellate Side, these High Courts continued to exercise the said jurisdiction. This was a very anomalous position, inasmuch these High Courts were permitted to exercise such jurisdiction in their Appellate Side. Curiously enough, no specific reason could be gathered, either from Act or from the debates concerning the Act, as to why, after a lapse of about fifty years of the establishment of these High Courts, this anachronism was revived, and, as a matter of fact, this anomalous position was not removed by the Government of India Act, 1935, which is said to have raised the status of the Indian High Courts. The Constitution of India brought an end to this anomaly.

As mentioned earlier, from July, 1862 to February, 1916, i. e., for nearly fiftyfour years, the Calcutta High Court exercised jurisdiction over the Province of Bihar and Orissa.

V

This is, in short, the background of the Patna High Court. At this place, it would be interesting to note that had the Indian High Courts Act, 1911 not been enacted, the Crown, (according to the provisions of the former Indian High Courts Act, 1861), could not have established the Patna High Court by Letters Patent, as the jurisdiction of the proposed High Court at Patna had then been included "within the limits of the local jurisdiction of another High Court", i. e., the Calcutta High Court. The Indian High Courts Act, 1911, however, provided *inter alia* that the Crown might establish a High Court in any territory "*whether or not* included within the limits of the local jurisdiction of another High Court".

The High Court building at Patna planned exactly, though on a smaller scale after the High Court building at Allahabed, to suit the weather conditions prevailing here, was completed on the 3rd February 1916. Lord Hardinge of Penshurst, the then Viceroy and Governor-General of India, who had laid the foundation stone of the building on the 1st December, 1913 made a memorable inaugural speech on that day, an important portion of which is quoted below :

> "........the building itself is an emblem of the great functions the Court has to discharge—great functions not only in its decrees between man and man, but as great, and perhaps, even weightier *in its decision as between the individual and the State*...... "

The last few words, quoted above, though expressed without visualising the wider jurisdiction the High Court would have in 1950 under the Constitution of India, did succinctly put the true importance of the High Courts in India.

Now, a few words about the Bench of the High Court at Patna during the pre-independence days. Under the two Indian High Courts Acts, mentioned above, as well as under the Government of India Act, 1915, the Chief Justice of every High Court must necessarily be a Barrister-at-law, and, generally speaking, right upto 1912, the Chief Justices of the Patna High Court with the exception of two were Barristers

of England directly appointed as Chief Justice. The exceptions were Sir Edward Des Champs Chamber, the first Chief Justice, and Sir Arthur Trevor Harries, the fourth Chief Justice—who were of course, Barrister-at-law—who, prior to their appointment as such, were Judges of the Allahabad High Court.

The aforesaid Acts further provided that one-third of the Judges of the Indian High Courts (including the Chief Justice) should be Barristers-at-law, one-third should be covenanted officers, i. e., members of the Indian Civil Service, and the rest one-third of the posts should be filled up by Vakils (as the Advocates were then called) and non-I. C. S. Officers of the Provincial Judicial Service. The Government of India Act, 1935, however, did away with this quota system, and also removed the bar against the I. C. S. Judges becoming Chief Justice.

The actual break-up of appointments made to the Bench of the Patna High Court (excluding the Chief Justice) during the period 1916 to 1947 is given below :--

(1)	English I. C. S. Officers	19
(2)	English Barristers-at-Law	6
(3)	Indian Barristers-at-Law	11
(4)	Indian I. C. S. Officers	7
(5)	Indian Advocates	6
(6)	Indian non-I. C. S. Officers of the Provincial Judicial Service	3

From the above break-up it will appear that English Covenanted Officers (I. C. S.) had, at least during the earlier phase, a lion's share on the Bench of the Patna High Court. In 1947, however, the position changed inasmuch as in that year there were only two English I. C. S. Judges, namely, Hon'ble Sir Herbert Ribton Meredith and Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. G. Shearer. Of them, Sir Herbert Ribton Meredith became, in 1950, the first I. C. S. Chief Justice of this Court. Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. G. Shearer was the last I. C. S. Judge of this Court, who relinquished his

office in 1952. Of the English Barrister Judges, Hon'ble Mr. Justice C. H. A. Bennett was the last who relinquished his office in 1948.

It will be noticed that, during the period under review, the representation of non-I. C. S. Members of the Provincial Judicial Service to the Bench was the poorest. As a matter of fact, during the first eleven years of the Patna High Court, there was no such Judge on the Bench. Hon'ble Mr. Justice A. N. Chatterji was the first non-I. C. S. Service Judge of this Court, appointed in the year 1928. He remained an Additional Judge of this Court throughout, and so remained the other two members of this Service, who were appointed subsequently to the Bench of this Court. The reason for this poor representation appears to be two-fold. Firstly, the highest rung of the Provincial Judicial Service during the period in question used to be predominated by I. C. S. Officers, rendering the promotional avenue of non-I. C. S. Judicial Officers to the rank of District and Sessions Judge very narrow; and, even though a few fortunate ones could scale all the hurdles, they generally remained far below in the seniority list of District and Sessions Judges. Secondly, the Government also did not then relish the idea of appointing such officers on the Bench, as would be evident from the fact that even those few who had been appointed to the Bench of this Court were not subsequently made permanent Judges.

Now, coming to the Bar of the High Court, it must be admitted, at the outset, that, for proper administration of justice, an independent Bar is as essential as an independent judiciary. In this respect the Patna High Court was fortunate in having an independent and brilliant Bar from the very beginning. This was no doubt a legacy from the Calcutta High Court. Apart from a set of brilliant Barristers of that Court, who came over to Patna on the establishment of the High Court in 1916, some 199 renowned Vakils enrolled in the Calcutta High Court sought permission to get their names removed from the roll of that High Court to enable them to practise in this High Court or in the district courts in Bihar and Orissa, which came under the jurisdiction of this Court. The Patna High Court Bar, which had two branches from the very beginning, i. e., Barristers' Association and Advocates' Association, thus, even from

the day this High Courts was established, gave brilliant assistance to the Bench in the dispensation of even-handed justice. Moreover, the Bar always served as a veritable pool from which subsequent brilliant Judges of this Court were drawn in. Even a cursory glance at the first list of members of the Bar will show that there were not only pioneers who built the high traditions of this Court but also makers of modern Bihar, nay, India. The High Court had then personalities like late Dr. Rajendra Prasad, our first President of Free India, Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha (he transferred his practice from Allahabad High Court), Maulana Mazharul Haque, Sir Ganesh Dutt Singh, Sir Ali Imam, Mr. Hasan Imam.

In 1950, the Constitution of India brought a sea-change in the character and function of the High Courts in India. Hitherto, writs in the nature of Mandamus, Certiorari, Prohibition, Quo Warranto and other directions of similar nature were unknown to the High Courts, barring of course the Presidency High Courts which had limited jurisdiction in this respect. With the commencement of the Constitution, a very wide writ jurisdiction under Articles 226 and 227 was conferred on the High Courts, the immediate outcome of which was heavy and ever-increasing filing of cases from all quarters, praying for issue of such writs against orders passed by the Executive or quasi-judicial authorities against the petitioners of those cases. Thus, after 1950, the majority of cases filed in the Patna High Court—as in all other High Courts—came to be Writ cases invoking either the Civil Writ Jurisdiction or the Criminal Writ Jurisdiction of this Court. The proliferation of legislations which a welfare State like India under the Constitution could not and cannot avoid doing, especially in the background of the socio-economic condition of the country, gave further impetus to filing of writ cases by persons and organisations adversely affected by the provisions of those new Acts, claiming relief against the alleged infringement of Fundamental Rights under the Constitution. The Bench and the Bar had to acquaint and acclimatise themselves with this changed situation. With the abolition of Permanent Settlement by the Bihar Land Reforms Act, cases involving interpretation of tenancy laws or the nature of the decrees passed thereunder, were no longer filed and thus ceased to form the majority of cases ordinarily heard by the

Bench of this Court. In their place came, rather flooded cases of entirely different nature involving interpretation of laws and legal principles known only in foreign countries. Specialisation in particular branches of law became essential for the members of the Bar, and, with the influx of Writ cases, the Bar also expanded unbelievably.

The establishment of the Supreme Court with much wider power and jurisdiction than its predecessor, the Federal Court, had also its indirect effect on the working of the High Courts. In the Federal Court, the scope of appeal from the decisions of the High Courts was very limited, and the heavy cost of carrying an appeal against the decision of the High Court to the Privy Council was also a very powerful deterrant to the parties going there in appeal. The Supreme Court as the highest Court of appeal in the country removed both the bars, with the result that larger number of cases are now taken to that Court, whether or not a certificate of fitness for appeal to that Court is granted by the High Court. Interference by the Supreme Court on appeal is thus not infrequent.

Besides that, under the latest amendment of the Election Law, the High Court is now acting as the Court of Original Jurisdiction for deciding disputes relating to election to the Parliament and the State Legislatures. This is a very heavy burden, for the number of cases filed in relation to election dispute is not inconsiderable, and disposal of such cases decidedly takes much more time than the usual types of cases heard in the High Court.

Before proceeding further with the post-independence change in the functioning of the Patna High Court it would be worth-while to mention one principal feature of the Patna High Court coming on since its establishment, Orissa, as already mentioned above, was originally within the jurisdiction of the Patna High Court. To facilitate the litigants in Orissa, the Letters Patent establishing the Patna High Court provided that the High Court at Patna should hold Circuit Court at Cuttack four times a year. In accordance with that provision, two Judges of the Court used to go to Cuttack, hold Circuit Court in the District Court premises and dispose of ready cases appertaining to Orissa. An office of

the High Court was kept there with the District and Sessions Judge of Cuttack as the part-time Registrar of the High Court. Though Orissa was constituted as a separate province in 1937, the Patna High Court, on account of non-establishment of any High Court for Orissa, continued to exercise jurisdiction over that province for more than ten years, and, naturally, the system of holding Circuit Court in Orissa continued till the early part of 194 . The Orissa High Court came into being on the 26th July 1948, with Hon'ble Mr. Justice Bira Kishore Ray of the Patna High Court as its Chief Justice and then only the jurisdiction of the Patna High Court over Orissa ceased, and practice of holding Circuit Court at Cuttack was discontinued.

The next phase of Circuit Court sitting began in 1972 at Ranchi. Since 1949, the litigant public of Chotanagpur had been agitating for creation of a Circuit Court of the Patna High Court at Ranchi for disposal of cases arising within that Division. The desire of the litigant public of Chotanagpur was, however, fulfilled on the 6th March 1972, when the then Hon'ble the Chief Justice, Mr. U. N. Sinha, inaugurated the Circuit Court of this High Court in the Old Secretariat Building at Doranda (Ranchi). Three Judges of this Court began holding Circuit Court at Ranchi once in three months. The practice continued till the early part of 1976, when the Union Government enacted the High Court at Patna (Establishment of a Permanent Bench at Ranchi) Act, 1976, establishing a Permanent Bench of this Court at Ranchi. The Circuit Court at Ranchi was thus converted into a Permanent Bench on the 19th April 1976, and since then a Permanent Bench is functioning there.

Now, to resume the earlier topic, by 1950, the character of the Bench changed considerably. I. C. S, Officers were no longer available in the Provincial Judiciary for appointment as Judge of the High Court, and, in fact, *Hon'ble Mr. Justice V. Ramaswami*, who later on became the Chief Justice of this Court and was thereafter appointed as a Judge of the Supreme Court of India, was the last I. C. S. Judge to be appointed in the Patna High Court in 1947. Thereafter, the expression "Service Judge" began to mean Judges who had earlier entered the State Judicial Service as directly appointed Additional District and Sessions Judges from the

Bar or who had entered the service as Munsifs. Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. K. Narayan, a Service Judge who had begun his career as a Munsif, was the first to be appointed as a Permanent Judge of this Court in 1950, he having been appointed as an Additional Judge of this Court in 1948. Thereafter, the number of Service Judges on the Bench of this Court began to increase and, in 1976, among the total number of 24 sitting Judges of this Court, there were 10 Service Judges[1]—a big change as compared to the position obtaining before 1947.

The work-load of the Patna High Court has increased stupendously. As mentioned above, in 1916, the High Court at Patna started functioning with seven Judges, including the Chief Justice, having within its jurisdiction the present State of Orissa also. Sixty years thereafter, Orissa ceasing to be within its jurisdiction as far back as in 1948, the sanctioned strength of the Bench grew into 27 with strong justification for more Judges.[2] As mentioned earlier, with the commencement of the Constitution, the rate of institution of cases in the High Court increased by leaps and bounds, and there is no prospect of the rate remaining stationary even now. In 1917, only 3,747 cases were instituted in the Patna High Court; in 1950 the figure became 7,942; in 1966, it was 9,809 and at the end of 1976, the annual institution reached the staggering figure of 17,572 cases. The Bench has thus to cope with huge number of cases, and, in spite of the fact that in 1976 the average rate of disposal per Judge per year reached the highest figure of 718.5 cases, the heavy rate of institution is constantly adding to the magnitude of the already huge arrears. The present High Court building, without its subsequent extensions, could, in 1916 and years thereafter, accommodate the Patna Museum and the Sanskrit Association as well; but now acute problem is being faced in providing accommodation for the office and the Courts, in spite of shifting of a considerable part of its office and a few Courts to Ranchi.

The great traditions of judicial probity, impartiality and fearlessness, on which the reputation of a Court of Justice like the High Court really

1. The number of Service Judges is now 12 as compared to 11 Bar Judges.

2. More posts of Additional Judges have recently been sanctioned,

stand, are slow and difficult to grow. Two factors are very essential for steady growth of such traditions. Firstly, both the Bench and the Bar must recognize from the very beginning, that, for proper administration of Justice, an independent Bar is as necessary as an independent Judiciary. Secondly, which almost follows from the first, there must be close and harmonious collaboration throughout between these two great limbs of the Judiciary—the Bench and the Bar. Needless to add that in the High Court at Patna, both the Bench and the Bar kept these two major principles in view from the very beginning. Moreover, this High Court had another great advantage—a sizeable section of the then Calcutta High Court Bar, Barristers and Vakils of high reputation and standing came over to this newly-established High Court to form its Bar. They had brought with them the high traditions of that High Court, grown with care right from 1825, when the Supreme Court Bar at Calcutta had been established. All these factors combined and coalesced in the case of this Court, and that is the reason why Patna High Court, right from the beginning, came to be regarded as one of the best High Courts in India.

As we have seen in the beginning the Chief Justices and the Judges of this Court mostly came from Great Britain—either direct from the Bar or as Members of the Indian Civil Service. They had brought with them the high traditions, the rules and principles by which administration or justice is guided and controlled in that great democratic country, and, sitting on the Bench of this Court, they gave weighty decisions, saturated with lofty principles never making any distinction, before law, of country, class or creed whether the parties before them be the ruler or the ruled. The Indian I. C. S. Judges also had no executive bias as is often wrongly assumed by the general public and their decisions were also impregnated with wisdom and judicial independence. Of the Bar Judges of the early period, I shall speak when I deal with the first Bar of the Patna High Court, for prior to their appointment to the Bench of this Court, they had formed an integral part of the Bar.

Now coming to the Bar of this High Court in 1916, apart from a set of brillant Barristers, some 51 Vakils (Advocates), formerly practising in

the Calcutta High Court, fromed the first Vakils' (Advocates') Association of this High Court. Even a cursory glance at the list of members of the Bar then (Advocates and Barristers) will show that the Bar had not only the pioneers who rendered invaluable assistance in building the high traditions of this Court but had also makers of modern Bihar. The High Court Bar had then personalities like our national leader and the first President of Free India, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha (on the establishment of the Patna High Court, he transferred his practice from the Allahabad High Court), Maulana Mazharul Haque, Sir Ganesh Dutt Singh, Hon'ble Mr. Krishna Sahay, Mr. Lakshmi Narayan Singh, Sir Ali Imam, Mr. Hasan Imam (who resigned from the Bench of the Calcutta High Court to join the Bar of this Court), Mr. Nirsu Natavan Sinha, Mr. K. B. Dutta, Dr. Sultan Ahmad, Mr. P. R. Das, Mr. Khurshid Husnain, Mr. Chandra Shekhar Prasad Singh (my uncle), Mr. Rai Guru Sharan Prasad, Mr. Syed Abdul Aziz, Mr. Md. Yunus, Mr. Raghunath Singh, Sir Mohammad Fakhruddin, Mr. Akhauri Parmeshwar Dayal, Mr. Sushil Madhav Mullick, Mr. Shiv Narayan Bose, Mr. Bankim Chandra De, Mr. P. C. Manuk, Dr. Syed Mahmood, Mr. Manohar Lal, Dr. Gour Chandra Pal, Mr. K. P. Singh, Sir C. M. Agarwala, Dr. Kashi Prasad Jaiswal (the great orientalist and archaeologist), Mr. Shiveshwar Dayal, Mr. Kulwant Sahay, Dr. Anugrah Narayan Sinha, Dr. P. K. Sen, Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Jha (joined the Patna High Court Bar on the 19th December 1916) and a host of other bright members of the legal profession. None of these distinguished members of the Bar are on earth today to witness the Diamond Jubilee of this High Court, except Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Jha, who had also the unique distinction of being the first and the only member of the Bar to be directly appointed as the Chief Justice of this High Court in 1950.

The next generation brought in the Bar of this Court Barristers and Advocates of no less distinction. I give below, at random, names of only some of them to show that any High Court in India would be proud to display their names on its rolls. The records of the Bar of this Court bear the names of such personalities like Mr. Nageshwar Prasad, Mr. Bhuvaneshwar Prasad Sinha, (who had the unique distinction of being

appointod as a Judge of this Court. Chief Justice of the then Nagpur High Court, Judge of the Supreme Court and, finally, the Chief Justice of India), Mr. Jafer Imam (appointed a Judge of this Court, thereafter its Chief Justice and then a Judge of the Supreme Court of India), Mr. Sarjoo Prasad (a former Judge of this Court who went to Assam as the Chief Justice of that State and then Chief Justice of Rajasthan), Mr. Shashi Shekhar Prasad Singh (my father), Mr. Baldeva Sahay, Mr. Mahabir Prasad, Mr. Hari Nandan Singh (to whom I was articled), Mr. Nawal Kishore Prasad, Mr. Avadhesh Nandan Sahay, Mr. Baldeva Prasad Singh, Mr. C. P. Sinha (who also for many years adorned the Bench of this Court and then went to Assam as the Chief Justice of that State), Mr. Khaleel Ahmad (from the Bench of this High Court he went to Orissa as the Chief Justice of that State), Mr. Satish Chandra Misra (former Chief Justice of this Court), Mr. U. N. Sinha (retired as the Chief Justice of this Court), Mr. N. L. Untwalia (first a Judge and then the Chief Justice of this High Court, now an Hon'ble Judge of the Supreme Court), Mr. Lal Narayan Sinha (ex-Solicitor-General of India), Mr. S. N P. Singh (retired as the Chief Justice of this Court), Mr. Balbhadra Prasad Singh, Mr. Basanta Chandra Ghose, Mr. Murtaza Fazl Ali (went from the Bar of this Court as Judge of the Jammu and Kashmir High Court, then became its Chief Justice; now an Hon'ble Judge of the Supreme Court of India).

The list of names given above, which is by no means exhaustive or comprehensive, will highlight the contribution of the Bar of this Court to the Bench not only of this Court but of other High Courts, including the highest Court of Justice in this country. In this respect, the Bar served, as it were as a veritable pool from which notable talents of the Bench were drawn from the very beginning. As a matter of fact, the Bar has so far sent some 49 of its distinguished members to the Bench of this Court and, it is hoped, will continue to make this rich contribution for years to come.

This account will be incomplete if the contribution of the District Bar Associations to the Bench of this Court is not acknowledged. The Bar of the District Courts had legal giants of their own much before the

High Court was established at Patna, and the then Government was aware of that fact. The first Indian Advocate Judge of the Court, namely, Sir Jwala Prasad (appointed at the time the High Court was established), was a leading practitioner in the Arrah District Courts. Sir Khwaja Md. Noor, another distinguished Judge, although enrolled as a Vakil of this Court in 1916, prior to his appointment as a Judge of this Court in 1930, mostly practised in the District Court at Gaya. In a sense, the Chapra Bar has a greater claim over Sir S. Fazl Ali, the first Permanent Indian Chief Justice of this Court and the first Chief Justice of this Court to go to the then Federal Court of India as Judge, and on its abolition as Judge of the Supreme Court of India, inasmuch as Sir Fazl had practised at Chapra from 1912 to 1924, and then came to the High Court Bar virtually to be appointed a Judge of this Court only four years thereafter, in 1928. That is the reason why I have not included the name of Sir Khwaja Mohammad Noor or of Sir S. Fazl Ali in the list of distinguished members of the Patna High Court Bar.

To relate the achievements of the Patna High Court during these sixty years, one would require, to say the least, a separate volume, and I feel that this task be better left to future historians, who may have the advantage of viewing things in a more clear perspective and with a more dispassionate outlook than mine, specially in view of my almost life-long association with this High Court. To be more precise, if I count my grandfather, Hon'ble late Shri Saligram Singh, an acknowledged leader of the Calcutta High Court Bar during the second half of the 19th century, three generations of my family remained associated with High Courts at Calcutta and Patna. The numerous volumes of law reports and digests of this country already bear ample testimony to the achievements of this Court of Justice made during these years. I would, however, touch upon one aspect of the achievements of this Court, and that is that this High Court has so far the distinction of sending six members of its Bench and one member of its Bar to the highest Court of Justice of this country. I give below the names only :—

(1) Sir S. Fazl Ali,

(2) Mr. B, P. Sinha (later became the Chief Justice of India),

(3) Mr. Jafer Imam,

(4) Mr. S. K. Das, I. C. S.,

(5) Mr. V. Ramaswami, I. C. S.,

(6) Mr. N. L. Untwalia, and

(7) Mr. Murtaza Fazal Ali.

I have now come to the end of my story. It must be admitted that one of the most beneficent results of the association of England with India has been to introduce the rule of law into the land and to embed it so firmly with the lives of the people of our country that its displacement, no matter what vast changes may take place in the socio-economic condition of the country in future, seems now to be an impossibility. And the High Courts as Courts of Justice have always played their role magnificently. That is the reason why the High Court has always been considered as the bastion of the liberty of the citizen and has been the chief recource against all kinds of oppression and high-handedness. The High Court at Patna has dispensed even-handed justice to all, but tempered with mercy. A great and unshakable tradition has already been built, and it is ardently hoped that this tradition will always be followed by both the Bench and the Bar in all future.

Chief Justice
Patna High Court
Patna

Bihar Through Plans

PROF. RATNESHWAR MISHRA

The dawn of independence in 1947 and subsequent adoption of planned economic system in 1951 roused high hopes and aspirations in almost all sections of Indian Society; poor or rich, rural or urban. Very apparently promise of an eqalitarian social order through planned economic growth meant on the one hand the availability of basic civic amenities to the rural poor and on the other, improved living conditions comparable to any other community anywhere in the world to the more affluent and articulate urban section. For quite some time the economic planning was viewed as a panacea to the sufferings and backwardness inherited from the colonial days. Not only the Indian people but the knowledgeable people world over were attracted to the gigantic experiment of planning in India. In the beginning the efforts were made to find out the resources and to identify areas where to harness them. But slowly as the years rolled by the principles of development economy were put to some very good use from the First to the Seventh Five Year Plans and with somewhat equally desirable results. The whole exercise of planning was carried to the state level also and whether we take up the entire country as a unit or only the indivdual states it is rather very clear that the Indian economy marched unhampered along the line of progress, notwithstanding aberrations here and there, but amidst progress and development there surfaced unevenness and inequality between state and state insofar as the quantum of progress was concerned. For illustration one might quote the industrial development made in the states like Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu, Gujrat etc. and the agricultural development in the states like the Punjab and Haryana. But states like Bihar, Orissa and quite a few others appear to have been left out of this pale of development. Planning in economic

activities was introduced in Bihar in 1951 alongwith the rest of the country but while the developed states of the country prospered Bihar moved from stationariness to decay.

This may be of great interest to know why and how Bihar remained economically as backward as it is despite the Five Year Plans. One often hears of Bihar's poverty amidst plenty. What then are the salient features of the economy of Bihar ? How has Bihar pooled her resources together to pull herself out of the economic morass during all these years ? In other words what has been the distribution of resources in the different sectors of development economy ? Obviously planning does not appear to have achieved desirable results in Bihar. It is, therefore, imperative to know the answer not only to the aforesaid questions but also to the question as to what have been the shortcomings of planning in Bihar and what could be done to remedy them.

Bihar's population of 699 lakhs as per 1981 census is the second largest among the states of Indian Union. It constitute 10.4 percent of the country's total population[1] with an area of 1,73,877 sq. kms. it occupies eighth place in respect of territorial extent. Thus, on the one hand the state have vast deposits of natural resources, including the manpower resource and on the other it has the lowest per capita income in India.[2] This is a paradoxical situation. To make the paradox more pronounced Bihar has second highest percentage of population below the poverty line. In the circumstances the distinguishing features of the economy of Bihar despite about three and a half decades of planned development can be said to be poverty, unemployment and inequality which together make this state synonymous with backwardness. With the introduction of planning it was thought to develop the economically more vulnerable regions on a priority basis, but it is a sad commentary that although the Seventh Five Year Plan is in swing, the regional imbalance and economic disparity is appaling and the concept of Socio-economic justice to all has remained a far cry. It could aptly be said that the planned economic growth has

1. *Census of India*, 1981, Govt. of India p. XXII
2. Bose, S. R., *Economy of Bihar*, p. 1

succeeded in creating small islands of affluence in the midst of vast ocean of backwardness. The economy is marked by shortage and high prices of daily necessities, giving rise to widespread distress and discontent.[1]

The non-optimal trends in the demographic structure has been a vital reason for the backwardness of the state but at the same time, it cannot be refuted that the policy makers have not assigned due importance to the development-cum-welfare requirements of Bihar. If we focus our attention on the per capita outlay of Bihar, it is surprising that except in First Five Year Plan, the national average has not been touched in any of the plans, e. g. from Second Plan to Seventh Plan.[2] Unfortunately, the per-capita central assistance also indicates the same trend. The result of low investments in the past plans has been that while most other States have gone far ahead, Bihar has lagged behind in economic growth as well as in percapita income. Consequently, the economic disparity between the state of Bihar and the rest of the country has widened.

While the population in Bihar has registered an ever increasing trend, the plan outlays for different sectors of development are marked by almost continuous downward trend. The table on page 182 gives a clear picture of the plan allocations under different heads in Bihar.

The fall in the percentage of plan outlays in various sectors has clearly effected the implementation of different projects which could be productive and socially desirable. Many projects are either delayed or stopped altogether or continued rather indifferently on account of non-availability of adequate funds. But more important than this aspect is the fact that even those sectors which have received rather adequate plan outlays have not shown desirable results. The example may be taken of the water and power sector. Undoubtedly the above table shows that the head water and power has received due weightage through the plans but still Bihar faces a plethora of problems on this account. Drought, flood,

1. Jha, L. K., *Shortages and High Prices—the way out*, p. 18.
2. Draft–Seventh Five Year Plan 1985–90, Vol. I, Government of Bihar. pp I-II,
3. Ibid. pp. VII-XI.

Percentage of Plan Outlays (1st to 7th)[8]

Heads	1st	2nd	3rd	Annual	4th	5th	6th	7th (proposed)
Agriculture and allied	23.17	24.8	23.5	20.9	17.52	16.3	18.2	19.5
Co-operation	0.6	1.5	1.0	0.52	3.72	1.2	0.8	0.8
Water and power development	22.8	31.2	41.9	37.8	51.04	53.8	56.1	31.1
Industries and Minerals	3.00	6.1	4.2	2.8	3.39	4.3	3.1	4.5
Transport and communication	15.9	8.3	6.3	4.7	7.16	9.9	7.7	8.5
Social and community services	25.6	27.5	22.9	9.2	17.17	13.7	13.7	14.4
Miscellaneous	—	0.6	0.2	0.1	0.10	0.8	0.4	0.7

inadequate generation of electricity and its non-optimal distribution to different sectors of economy etc. are points at hand. It is a riddle as to who is accountable for this lag, the unrealistic planning or defective execution. Apparently planning cannot be blamed for many of the ills that afflict the economy because in many of the sectors the financial resources allocated through the plans have not been put to best use and certainly not during the available time-frame. This creates further complications. The inflationary pressure over a period of time raises the budgetary estimate and the time lag deprives the state of harnessing the benefits of development-oriented welfare schemes.

As already mentioned, the per capita central assistance for Bihar has also been much below the national average. The financial dossiures reveal that in none of the plans, the per capita central assistance has touched the national average. The per capita central assistance for Bihar was Rs. 14 in the Ist plan, Rs. 19 in the IInd, Rs. 44 in the IIIrd, Rs. 58

in the IVth, Rs. 114 in the Vth and Rs. 224 in the VIth plan whereas the national average was Rs. 24, Rs. 26, Rs. 55, Rs. 65, Rs. 145 and Rs. 258 respectively.[1] The result is that after the completion of six Five Year Plans, Bihar finds itself at the bottom in respect of per capita Central assistance as well as per capita income.

In respect of per capita income Bihar is far behind all India average and this gap has kept on widening with the lapse of time. The average per capita income of Bihar was 27 percent less than the all India average in 1950-51; 29 percent less in 1970-71, 33 percent less in 1972-73 and 48 percent less in 1982-83. Even though the difference is alarming the economists do not accept per capita income as a reliable index for economic development. A number of factors combine to determine the development rate and they include literacy percentage, availability of food per head, total percentage of irrigated agricultural land, the health care available at per one thousand square km., per capita industrial production, road-availability for every one thousand square km. and per capita power cosumption etc. The following table would show that in 1980 the relative position of Bihar has been far below some of the developed states of India in respect of integrated development index as detailed above.

State	Integrated Development Index	Relative Postion
Kerala	287.5	1
Punjab	186.5	2
Tamilnadu	156.5	3
West Bengal	151.2	4
Haryana	135.2	5
Maharashtra	132.5	6
Gujarat	110.09	7
Uttar Pradesh	101.02	8

6. Ibid. p. 1

Karnataka	97.4	9
Himachal Pradesh	87.6	10
Andhra Pradesh	86.1	11
Orissa	84.9	12
Bihar	72.7	13
Assam	75.4	14
Rajasthan	60.9	15
Madhya Pradesh	59.3	16
India	100.0	

Thus, Bihar is ahead only of Assam, Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh. It is then one of the most backward states of India. The reason of this backwardness can be explained through inadequate per capita plan allocations for development purposes to Bihar in comparison, to other states. This again can be made clear through the following table :

Plans	Per capita allocation to all States taken together	Per capita allocation for Bihar	Percentage of down wards difference
Ist	42.7	25	41.5
IInd	64	40	37.5
IIIrd	119.2	67	43.5
Three Annual Plans	89.9	40	55.1
IVth	222.5	85	61.8
Vth	574.2	230	59.9
VIth	1524.4	572	62.5

Thus capital investment in respect of Bihar has been far less in comparison to other states.

Not only this the gap-between the per-capita central assistance to other states and to Bihar has also been appaling :

Plans	Average per capita assistance to all States	Per capita assistance to Bihar
Ist	24.0	14.0
IInd	26.0	19.0
IIIrd	55.0	44.0
Three Annual Plans	37.0	19.0
IVth	65.0	58.0
Vth	145.0	58.0
VIth	258.0	224.0

A brief survey of Bihar's progress during different Five Year Plans would make the story more intelligible. Bihar's First Five Year Plan was very small in size. It contained 190 schemes estimated to cost Rs. 57.29 crores during this period (1951–56). The small size was a great point of criticsm but still something was achieved during this plan. About 1,888 miles of roads were improved. In other respects also the First Plan was success. Naturally the Second Plan outlay for Bihar was increased from Rs. 73.28 crores in the First Plan to Rs. 190.22 crores. Inclusion of Community Development schemes, Major Railway Electrification on the Eastern Railway, execution of irrigation schemes etc. may be said to be the chief features of the Second plan. Establishment and growth in the Gram Panchayats was another landmark of the plan. During the First two Five Year plans cottage industries received special attention. In the First Five Year plan there was a provision for 59 lakhs of rupees for small cottage industries, but in the second it was increased to 12 crores of rupees. To create an interest in the Five Year plans the State Government had launched a scheme known as local works programme at a cost of Rs. 28 lakhs. The Third Five Year Plan was implementedin Bihar in 1961 with the total outlay of Rs. 337 crores. Of this, about 218 crores

had to come as a loan and grant from the Central Government and the remaining 119 crores from the State exchequer. Deep Narayan Singh in his budget speech made a significant observation, "In spite of tapping all our resources during the first two plans, we are still below the all India average."[1] Over the years it became almost an annual ritual for the Finance Ministers of Bihar to lament the resource constraints in implementing the different schemes under Five Year plans. Inspite of the constraints Bihar made headway in respects of community development, co-operative movements and more particularly development of agriculture and land reform measures. River Valley projects and irrigation facilities also received adequate attention. The generation and supply of power kept on increasing all these years. Industrial Development of the State also kept pace in private and public sectors. Even though the State has steadily progressed during the plan period, its per capita income has increased, and it has shown remarkable capacity to pool its resources, yet when compared to other states of the Indian Union it presents almost a dismal picture of backwardness.[2]

After three and a half decades of planned development the three alarming problems staring Bihar in the face are poverty, unemployment and inflation.[3] The per-capita per day intake of calories and nutrients in rural Bihar is one of the lowest in the country. The unemployment is at its peak. It is revealed by the financial records that in the beginning of First Five Year plan, there were 33 lakhs registered unemployeds whereas by the end of the sixth Five Year plan the figure went upto 241 lakhs.[4] Thus on the basis of the level of income and unemployment, it cannot be wrong to say that social status of the population of Bihar is low particularly in comparison to the developed states of Maharasthra, Punjab, Harayana etc. The rate of literacy is poor which in the eyes of social-scientists is the root cause of backwardness of the economy.

1. *Bihar-Budget Ke Aine Men-1950-82*, Government of Bihar, p. 277.
2. Ibid. pp 298, 316, 319-24 and 327-334.
3. Prasad, K. N. 'Bihar's Economic Malaise' in S. K Bose (ed), *Essay in Honour of Dr. Gyanchand*, p. 34.
4. Draft Seventh Five Year Plan, *op. cit.*, p. II.

The very base of economy of Bihar is weak. Despite the completion of Six Five Year Plans, we have not been successful in easing out the problems of land and water management. The industries in general face the problems of power, finance and marketing. The services trade are at the very nascent stage.

The low level of investment has been diagonosed as a vital factor for the existing backwardness of the State. The financial intermediaries in general and the commercial banks in particular have not professed an optimal credit deposit ratio. Even of late, we find high flow of capital in the developed States whereas backward states have not received their due. The available records reveal that the credit deposit ratio during the first three years of 1980, has shown a declining trend as it was 41.2 in 1980, 39.7 in 1982 and 38.4 in 1983. The national average of credit deposit ratio during the same period was 66.9, 67.5 and 73 respectively.

In view of the aforesaid facts and figures, it could not be wrong to observe that particularly weaker sections of the community have failed in getting the benefits of development. Although, there is a number of welfare measures in the 20-Point programme, still the gap between haves and have-nots has kept on widening like anything. This yawning gap between the haves and have-nots is definitely against the principle of socio-economic justice mentioned in the constituion and plan documents. It is urgent that systems and strategies are devised to meet the challenges that lie ahead particularly in the three years of the Seventh plan. The resource constraint underscores the importance of efficient use of available resources.[1] In this background our Five Year Plans have to give high priority to quick maturing high productivity investments especially in areas which are not capital intensive.

Head, Department of History
L. N. Mithila University
Darbhanga.

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11. Mukherjee, Pranab-*Beyond Survival*, pp. 62-64

The Socio-Religious Reform Movements in Bihar 1910-47 : Trends and Patterns

SUMANTA NIYOGI

The socio-religious reform movements which emerged in the wake of British rule in India can be divided into two major categories. In the first category fall the movements which called for reform and changes in cultural practices and values of Hinduism on the pattern of the primordial tradition of the Vedas. In the second category belong those movements which advocated synthesis of new norms and cultural themes with the traditional themes and value system of the Hindu culture. The pioneers of the second trend in socio-religious reformation have been the apostles of modernization in a greater measure than those belonging to the first one.[1] The Arya Samaj, the Kabirpanthi, the Ramakrishna Mission and the Theosophical Society movements fall in the first category, while the Brahmo Samaj movement falls in the second one.

None of these movements associated with the nineteenth century Indian Reform and Awakening can trace their origin in Bihar. The Brahmo Samaj and the Ramakrishna movements came here from neighbouring Bengal, while the Arya Samaj and Kabirpanthi movements entered the province from the Punjab and United Provinces. Of course, they made remarkable impact on the development of man and society in Bihar, which was clearly evident in the first half of the twentieth century.

I

The Brahmo Samaj movement was the most significant aspect of the Indian Reform and Awakening. It was characterised by a reformist

1. Yogendre Singh, *Modernization of Indian Tradition*, Faridabad, 1977, p. 43,

zeal in socio-religious sphere and an irresistible upsurge of educational and intellectual activities. The unprecedented intellectual and cultural efflorescence through protestant Brahmoism had a profound impact on the Bengali thought and society. It was bound to affect the neighbouring province of Bihar. The spirit of the Nabajagaran or the new awakening percolated into Bihar in a slow manner.[1]

A fairly large migration of Bengali 'bhadraloks'[2] to Bihar for serving the needs of the British Indian bureaucracy and of the newly-built railways, postal and telegraph services started in the sixties of the nineteenth century. Many of them were engaged in legal and medical professions, and some were employed as school teachers.[3] This process of Bengali bhadralok immigration into Bihar continued well upto the first few decades of the twentieth century. A sizeable section of these Bengali youngmen, kindled with the spirit of the new age, embraced Brahmoism and settled down in Bihar. Along with these new converts, the Brahmo missionaries also gradually came over to this province carrying with them the message of the new awakening.[4] With the help of this vibrant Bengali officialdom and dedicated missionaries the Brahmo Samaj movement could make headway in Bihar.

The first Samaj mandir was set up in Bihar in the town of Bhagalpur as early as 1863.[5] Bhagalpur had already been a centre of

1. Sumanta Niyogi, *The Brahmo Samaj Movement and Development of Education 1870–1975 : A Case Study of Bihar*, Patna, 1986, p. 2.
2. A term used to indicate the educated middle class elite of Bengal consisting chiefly, if not essentially, of Brahmins, Kayasthas and Vaidyas. See J. H. Broomfield, *Elite Conflict in a Plural Society*, Berkley, 1968, pp. 1–20, and N. K. Bose, *Modern Bengal*, Calcutta, 1959, for the picture of the bhadralok society.
3. B. B. Majumdar, "Religious Movements in the Hindu Community in Bihar 1859–61," in K. K. Datta (ed.), *Comprehensive History of Bihar*, Vol. III, Part II, Patna, 1976, p. 6.
4. Sutapa Bhattacharya, "The Brahmo Samaj Movement in Bihar : A Study of its Socio-religious Dimensions", unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, Patna University, 1983, p. 53.
5. Sivanath Sastri, *History of the Brahmo Samaj*, Calcutta, 1974 (new edition), p. 525.

educated Bengalis engaged in government employment and professions. It was followed by the establishment of Brahmo Samaj centres at Patna and Gaya in 1866.[1] The movement gained momentum with every passing year when branches of the Samaj were set up at Hazaribagh, Ranchi, Giridih, Muzaffarpur and some other places and the existing ones expanded their sphere of activities.[2] The noteworthy point is that the Brahmo Samaj in this province was confined mainly to the educated Bengali community residing in the urban areas. This trend continued in the first half of the twentieth century. The Brahmos here could not shake off their Bengaliness nor their English-knowing elitist complex. The sprinkle of Bihari converts that it could attract to its fold belonged mainly to the educated Kayastha families.[3] The philosophical doctrine of the Brahmo Samaj centering on the concept of one formless Almighty God, universal brotherhood and religious tolerance was beyond the comprehension of a common individual in this province.

For this reason large-scale proselytisation of Biharis to Brahmoism could not take place here. The Brahmo missionaries never dared to resort to conversion through force or pressure. The meagre number of converts the Brahmo Samaj could make here were done through persuasion, not pressure, in contrast to those of the Arya Samaj and Christian Missions. It is also very likely that they never strained themselves in the work of proselytisation thinking of it as a futile effort in a rigidly conservative society. Sivanath Sastri, the great Brahmo leader and an illustrious personality of the Indian Awakening and Reform, expressed his agony at the attitude of the Brahmos in Bihar :

> "It is a sad reflection that the mission of the Brahmo Samaj has not touched even the crest of the indigenous population of this province. It can also be fairly said that no systematic efforts have

1. Sophia Dobson Collet, *Brahmo Year Book*, 1868.
2. Sutapa Bhattacharya, op. cit., p. 57.
3. V. A. Narain, "The Role of Non-Bengalis in the Brahmo Movement in Bihar", in S. Niyogi (ed.), *The 94th All India Brahmo Conference Souvenir*, Patna, 1984, p. 55.

ever been made to carry the new message to the native population. The Bengali settlers among whom the light was confined were contented with working amongst their own class and offering the new gospel to their own people."[1]

This attitude of seclusion continued in the first half of the twentieth century, and accounted for the decline of the movement.

Though the Brahmo movement could not take roots in Bihar so far as the religious aspects is concerned, yet its work in the socio-cultural sphere was outstanding. The lasting legacies bequeathed by the Samaj to the posterity in the province speak for the dedication, sacrifice and hard work of the members of the Samaj in various parts of the province. It can definitely be said that the Samaj's accomplishments were far beyond its capacity in terms of number and resources. It made noteworthy contribution in the field of education. The Brahmo Samaj was the only indigenous agency to pioneer modern and secular education in Bihar.[2] Its role was also pioneering in the sphere of female education. The highly reputed educational institutions like the Rammohun Roy Seminary, the Bankipore Girls High School, the Rabindra Balika Vidyalaya, and the Aghore-Prakash Shishu Sadan, all in Patna; the Chotanapur Girls' High School and the Chotanagpur High School, both in Giridih; the Jadunath High School of Hazaribagh and the Sundarwati Balika Vidyalaya of Bhagalpur, all are continuing the work of education with success. Interestingly enough, the constitution of Rammohun Roy Seminary, drafted in 1910, envisaged the wishes of the pioneers to introduce "secular progressive education"—an objective hardly thought of or understood in the pre-Independence era.[3] Another contribution was the effort for spreading

1. Sivanath Sastri, op. cit., p. 524.

2. S. N. Pandey, *Educational and Social Changes in Bihar* 1900-21, Varanasi, 1975, p. 167; P. N. Misra and N. K. Jha, "Social and Religious Reform Movements in Bihar in the 19th and 20th Centuries" in S P. Sen (ed.) *Social and Religious Reform Movements in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, Calcutta, 1979, pp. 108-10.

3. Rajanikanta Guha, *Atmacharit* (autobiography in Bengali) Calcutta, 1949 p. 304; also see the Constitution of the Seminary kept in the Old Files Collection of the school at Patna.

literacy among the downtrodden and the deprived sections of the society by setting up night schools for Shudras and labourers in Patna, Monghyr, Jamalpur and Gaya between 1910 and 1945. Yet another contribution was the promotion of library movement in the province. The Rajnarain Bose Library of Deoghar, the Union Library of Hazaribagh and the Rammohun Library, Patna are among the libraries established by the Brahmos. Their educational work entitled them to the adulation of being recognised as the first potent indigenous modernising force in Bihar.

The Brahmo Samaj also acted as the agent of transformation so far as the status of women in the Bihari society is concerned. The Brahmo personalities like Aghore Kamini Devi, Brajagopal Niyogi, Sri Chakraborty and Sushama Sen played a vital role in releasing the womanhood of Bihar from the purdah and initiating the work of rescuing widows from the traditional bondage.[1] The Anti-purdah Agitation, organised by Sushama Sen in 1928, was a turning point in the movement for female emancipation. It had the blessings of Mahatma Gandhi and Sarojini Naidu.[2] Gandhi penned a few memorable lines in *Young India* appreciating the agitation.[3]

It is indeed surprising as to how such a forward-looking movement gradually declined and has, except in a few urban areas, gone into oblivion. Several factors account for it. As already observed, it was confined mainly to the educated middle-class Bengali elite. Reluctance to shake off this elitism stalled the expansion of the movement among the common folks in Bihar. Closely related to this had been the linguistic and doctrinal hindrances. Prayers and discourses were conducted in Bengali and English. Though some missionaries tried to make wide use of Hindi in the 1930's and 1940's, the effort was not continued. Moreover, even the switchover to Hindi was only partially successful, because the common folks found the Brahmo doctrine too unorthodox to be accepted. The monotheistic and unitarian ideas preached by the Brahmos were beyond

1. Sutapa Bhattachary, op. cit., p. 276-82,

2. Sushama Sen, *Memoirs of an Octogenarian*, New Delhi, 1972, pp. 311-36; P. N. Misra and N. K. Jha, op. cit., p. 120.

3. *Young India*, 28 June 1928; also see the *Searchlight* 11 July 1928.

the grasp of a common individual. In a place where hundreds of deities were worshipped and numerous local cults were followed with unshakable faith, the Brahmo move against idol-worship and religious intolerance was bound to meet with severe opposition. Therefore, the orthodoxy and conservation of the Bihar society was as much responsible for the failure of the Brahmo movement to gain sizeable following as the elitism of the Brahmos.

Again, the Brahmo Samaj lacked an organizational structure, a paid monkhood and financial patronage. The success of the later movements like the Arya Samaj and the Ramakrishna Mission was due to their possession not only of an efficient organization but a trained and dedicated land of monks. The Brahmos belonged to professional bomgeoisie, and so, a Brahmo youth's mentality was oriented towards professionalism. Career-building and search for lucrative job was of prime importance to him, and in this frame of mind the mission work had the least appeal. As a result, the Brahmo movement in Bihar in the 1940's and 1950's was devoid of dedicated fulltime workers and missionaries. Moreover, the Samaj did not enjoy the financial support of a group of affluent patrons as possessed by the Arya Samaj and the Ramakrishna Mission. The Arya Samaj enjoyed the financial patronage of the Baniyas, while the R. K. Mission that of the affluent Bengali Hindus.

Lastly, the Brahmo ceremonies and functions were marked with a seriousness and tranquility which was too strange to have a popular appeal. It did not encourage any festivity with lot of fun and frolic, nor any lavish procession and ceremony, nor any pomp and grandeur in popular style, nor any popular cult of miracle and vegetarianism. Sublimity and chastity were its watchwords in prayers and religious ceremonies.

At present, the Brahmo Samaj does not possess much in Bihar except a few mandirs and educational institutions, which stand as relics to proclaim the saga of sacrifice of some great souls. Surprisingly enough, the need for Brahmo movement is as urgent now as before with the emergence of fundamentalist forces and revival of social evils. With

growing cases of ill-treatment to widows, wife-burning and dowry deaths, the woman still remains unemancipated. The caste-system and dowry-system are taking deeper roots in society despite legislation against them. The untenable notion about the obsoleteness of the movement contributed to its decline.

II

The Arya Samaj movement can also be regarded as an exceedingly remarkable aspect of the nineteenth century Indian awakening and socio-religious reformation. The way the Brahmo Samaj ventured itself as a regenerative force and catalytic agent in Bengal in the nineteenth and early decades of the twentieth centuries, the Arya Samaj wielded more or less similar influence upon the society of northern India, extending from the Punjab to Bihar, in the late nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth centuries. Though the Arya Samaj's doctrinal base lacked the broad perspective and profundity of its Brahmo counterpart, it possessed that clarity and simplicity to appeal to a much larger section of the people. The movement was both protestant and purificatory in character. It was protestant because it raised a note of protest against the orthodox Hindu establishment marked by Brahminical preponderance. It was purificatory as it intended to purify traditional Hinduism from within rather than forming a separate religious sect with a distinguishable doctrinal base. If a separate sect emerged, it was due to the historical factor that such a thing happened. In other words, the Samaj's continuous involvement in the battle against the traditional socio-religious order rendered it a sectarian complexion contrary to its intention. In fact, the Arya Samaj movement is so much oriented to Hindu reformism that some scholars have even described it as some sort of effort at "Hindu revivalism".[1] While it cannot be denied that the Samaj's leading motto "back to the Vedas" demonstrates its rigid adherence to and unshakable faith in the infallibility

1. A. R. Desai, *Social Background of Indian Nationalism*, Bombay, 1948, pp. 136-7, 290-2; Sumit Sarkar, *Bibliographical Survey of Social Reform Movements in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, ICHR, New Delhi, 1975, p. 42. Also read the presidential speech of Prof. K. N. Panikkar in the Modern India Section, Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, Aligarh Session, 1975.

of Vedas, but at the same time, it has to be admitted that the movement emerged as the most potent modernising force in a large part of India where religious orthodoxy and social conservatism reigned supreme. Bihar is one such area where the Samaj's role was one of catalytic agent contributing to the process of modernisation.

Its activities in the province was characterised by endless endeavour for the acquisition and dissemination of knowledge, the tireless struggle for the emancipation of women and the continuous battle against the time-honoured orthodoxy, backwardness and superstition. It epitomised the attitude of non-conformity. The spirit of the new age was reflected in the setting up of numerous schools, libraries and gymnasiusms in all parts of the province. The reformist activities that began in the last quarter of the preceding century continued with greater momentum in the present century.

The arrival and sojourn of Swami Dayanand Saraswati at Patna in October 1872 heralded the initiation of the Arya Samaj movement in Bihar.[1] The indefatigable Swami with his lecture tours and reforming activities had already created a stir in the Punjab and United Provinces. On his way from Benaras to Calcutta he made a halt at Patna on 1 October 1872 and was so impressed by his reception here that he stayed for a month, putting up at the mansion of Raja Bhup Singh at Kumharar. A fairly large number of people which included many pundits and scholars flocked to the Raja's mansion to have a 'darshan' of the founder of the Samaj.[2] This period witnessed a noteworthy accomplishment. Under the Swami's guidance, his great follower Munshi Manohar Lal of Patna City wrote the solemn Arya text *Satyartha Prakash's* thirteenth volume. This was indeed a happy beginning of the Arya Samaj movement in this province.

1. Asha Singh, "The Arya Samaj Movement in Bihar 1872–1950," unpublished Ph. D. thesis, Patna University, 1985, p. 47.
2. S. Niyogi, "The Contribution of Arya Samaj in the Development of Man and Society in Bihar" in Swami Vedantananda (Ed), *Religion in Bihar in Modern Age*, Patna, 1984, p. 76.

The first mandir of the Samaj was established at Danapur, Patna in 1885. The Chapra Arya Samaj also came into being in that year. The influence of the Chapra Arya Samaj spread in the neighbouring areas and the Siwan Arya Samaj was founded in 1898. The Siwan Samaj was destined to become one of the chief centres of the Arya Samaj activities in Bihar. The only college founded by the Samaj in Bihar, the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College, is located at Siwan.

Then followed the foundation of the Patna Arya Samaj better known as the Bankipore Arya Samaj, which later became the nerve-centre of the Bihar Arya Samaj movement, in May 1908. The period 1926-27 marked a turning-point in the history of the Arya Samaj movement in Bihar. The Arya Samajes of Bihar and Bengal, till now under a single management, were now bifurcated, and the management of the Bihar Arya Samaj was entrusted upon a members-elected Arya Pratinidhi Sabha with headquarters at Patna. By that year the number of Arya Samaj mandirs in Bihar had risen to 35, and each possessed on an average 40 workers, including Acharyas, Pracharaks, Upadeshaks and Sudharaks. The development of the Arya Samaj in Bihar can be gauged from the fact that at present it has about 450 branches and a few lakh members.[1]

The Samaj worked to free man—his body, soul and thought—from the bondage imposed by tradition and authority, and to lead him to realm of freedom. The attitude of non-conformity and defiance was reflected in its struggle against the traditional socio-religious customs and cumbrous ceremonies. This brought the Samaj pracharaks and members into direct confrontation with the orthodox society, which often took violent turns. On the religious plane it caused a great stir when it allowed the Vedas to be read by members of all castes.[2] It initiated the system of Shastrartha, a religious discussion often taking the form of dialectic. The Shastrartha discussions often turned into acrimonious debate due to the strong bias of individuals belonging to the orthodox

1. Asha Singh, op. cit., pp. 76-82.
2. Ibid., p. 57.

section. In such discussion the acharya or pracharak first presented a discourse on a subject ranging from the Vedic philosophy to the religious doctrine of the Arya Samaj. The question-answer session followed in which Aryas as well as non-Aryas (including a few Christians and Muslims) participated. The Shastrartha proved so damaging to the orthodox establishment that they started hate-campaign, combined with threat and intimidation, against the Samaj in several parts of Bihar, which sometimes turned violent.[1] This sort of violent resistance, which was a common occurrence in the thirties and forties of this century, very much dampened the spirit of the Samaj workers. They now thought of putting more emphasis on social reforms than upon proselytisation and the propagation of the religious ideas of the Samaj.

However, in its milder form the Shastrartha continued because it was an essential means not only for the spread of Arya doctrine but also for the removal of age-old social evils. The Shastrarthas emphasised the Vedic infallibility and also stressed the point that the greatness of man depended upon his work (Karma), not upon his caste (Varna) or birth (Janma). This message had a special appeal for the members of the backward castes, who not only held an inferior social status but were subjected to many disabilities and restrictions in the traditional system. This resulted in a good number of the members of the Baniya, Kurmi and Koiri castes, a conglomeration of the Vaishya and high Sudras, joining the Samaj. These castes were doing well in trade and commerce. But they cannot be regarded as a sort of commercial bourgeoisie because in a tradition-bound and caste-ridden society they were straining under several deterrents. In Bihar's society the members of these lower castes were not allowed to sit or to eat together along with those of the upper castes. This custom continued well into the twentieth century and is still continuing so far as the scheduled castes or Harijans are concerned, if not the backward or intermediary castes in all cases. The significant point is that by joining the Samaj they primarily gained a higher social status and thus bridged the traditional gap with the upper castes to a

1. Ibid., p. 62.

recognisable extent. Here the Samaj effected the process of Sanskritisation or upward social mobility for intermediary castes. Thus the Samaj prepared, to a large extent, the way for the entrance of these backward castes into the fold of the commercial bourgeoisie. Broadening of the economic base was a potent motivation behind their joining the Samaj. Of course, the economic motivation must not be overemphasised. Many of these Baniya individuals were not very much eager to elevate their social status, inspite of possessing considerable fortune. The chief urge among the Bihari backward castes in joining the new movement was, besides spiritual satiation, their search for an egalitarian society that would recognise their status as man. They certainly received it. If commercial interest or economic motivation was on their part, it was equally there on the part of the founders and pracharaks of the Samaj. The Arya Samaj leaders wanted to enroll these backward caste individuals into the fold of the Samaj, partly because they needed to be socially and culturally improved and partly because they possessed wealth. And as already noted, it was on the land and money of these wealthy castes that the physical structure of the Samaj was built up in various districts of Bihar. This explains the fact that the members of the backward castes and business communities, particularly the Baniyas, played a prominent role in the Arya Samaj movement in the province. True, they rarely held the positions of acharya or pracharak because of the lack of knowledge in the Vedas and Shastras, but they made the maximum contribution in material terms.

Besides upgrading the status of lower castes, another outstanding contribution of the Arya Samaj has been the spread of education. In fact, education was itself a means for elevating the lower caste men as well as enlightening the upper caste men, and thus the Samaj helped the development of man and society in Bihar. The remarkable points about the Arya Samaj's work in the sphere of education are: firstly, the spread of education was not only an objective and ideal of the Samaj, but also a necessary means for its survival in the conservative Bihar society. The hold of the religious traditions being so strong that the Samaj could not make much of an impact with its religious doctrine. Rather it aroused strong opposition. So, the Samaj had to get involved in the work of education

to justify its existence. Wherever in Bihar the Samaj opened its Mandir, a school and a library became its essential parts. The schools did not arouse direct opposition of the orthodox people. At worst they did not receive children from these families. But children from liberal families and educationally backward lower caste families flocked to these schools in fairly large number. In course of time these schools proved their worth and children from orthodox families were being sent there. This proved to be favourable to the Samaj in another way. A good number of students of these schools, influenced by the Arya ideals, their austere and honest life and good deeds, would later join the Samaj. Thus the schools, besides spreading education, helped to augment the number of Arya Samajis.

The second noteworthy point about the Samaj's work in the sphere of education is that both the D. A. V. School pattern of Lala Hansraj and the Gurukul pattern of Swami Shraddhananda were applied without the slightest evidence of schism in the Samaj. The D. A. V. pattern put emphasis upon modern education and included study of science and English. But the Gurukul pattern emphasised upon the Vedic studies in the ancient Gurukul environment. However, the Gurukul system was gradually liberalised in Bihar and it later included study of other subjects too, even English and Science in some cases. The schools run on the D. A. V. pattern are overwhelmingly larger in number, the famous among them are, the D. A. V. High School, Siwan, the D. A. V. School, Chapra, the Dayanand High School, Patna, D. A. V. High School, Gopalganj and Shyam Lal High School, Khagaria. Among the schools run on the Gurukul pattern the wellknown ones are Gurukul High Schools of Deoghar, Chapra, Sitamarhi (Bairgenia) and Danapur.

Thirdly, an extremely important aspect of the Samaj's work in the field of education is its emphasis upon female education. This has been the most noteworthy aspect of the Samaj's endless endeavour for female emancipation. It, along with the Christian missions and the Brahmo Samaj, played a vital role for the spread of female education in Bihar. This was done by it in the face of opposition from a conservative society which not only assigned woman's place in the kitchen, but also put her within the veil. The Samaj workers took this as a challenge and

responded to it with courage and determination. Under their initiative and patronage female education made steady progress in the province. An interesting point is that the Samaj set up both middle and high schools for girls. In many areas where parents did not send their daughters to school after an advanced age, the middle schools proved very useful, and they attracted good number of girls from the outset. The girl's high schools, established and managed by the Samaj, were equally successful. In fact, female education made slow but steady progress and many of the Samaj's middle schools were upgraded to high schools. Famous among these high schools are the Arya Kanya Uchcha Vidyalayas of Siwan, Chapra, Patna, Gopalganj, Muzaffarpur and Khagaria. The accomplishment of the Samaj can be measured from the fact that none of the girls' schools set up by it proved defunct, rather their enrollment of students increased and new ones came into existence all over the province.

Lastly, the Samaj took the lamp of learning not only to women, but also to the downtrodden and the deprived sections of the society. At several places including Patna and Siwan it ran schools purely for the purpose of educating low-caste or Shudra children. Thus, in some respects it anticipated the Harijan uplift movement of the post-Independence period. The D. A. V. Dalitodhar Pathshalas of Patna and several other places had been very successfully managed by the Samaj. Many children, who had remained hated, neglected and deprived, chained in the age-old shackles of untouchability, entered a new and respectable life after receiving education from the Samaj schools. However, it must be noted that the Samaj had to establish separate schools for the lower caste children because of the upper caste insistence on segregation. It gradually brought the lower caste children in its unsegregated schools, but for doing this it again had to struggle hard against the orthodox section of the society.

The Arya Samaj made efforts to bring social reform in several other ways too. The Samaj mandirs solemnised numerous intercaste and inter-communal marriages. The Arya marriage ceremony is simple, clear and inexpensive. So, several individuals who oppose caste con-

formity and dowry have resorted to Arya system of marriage. The Arya Samajis set up Jatpat Torak Samiti to fight against caste and dowry systems. All these certainly helped to create feeling against caste system. However, the Samaj's success in the eradication of the caste system has been rather limited. In Bihar's society the individual's caste has been a dominant factor in his life. It decided several important issues of his life. It was, and still continues to be, a social platform, an identity badge and a communication point. It is a safety-valve which offered him security and safeguard against competitors from other castes, and the amount of support he received from his castemen was often an index of his success or failure. In such rigidly discriminatory caste system, the Samaj's achievement obviously has been a meagre one. So, what the Brahmo Samaj could do in Bengal even in its limited role of linking the Bhadralok castes through education and marriage and thus initiating a process of social mobility, the Arya Samaj's record in Bihar fell far short of it. Several Arya Samajis regrettingly told this researcher that the virus of casteism is so widespread that it is infecting the Samaj itself, though to a limited extent. In the Samaj's elections these caste prejudices sometimes appear on the surface. This is definitely shocking and shows the peak of irrationality that some Samaj members themselves are in the grip of the evil they are supposed to wipe out.

The Arya Samaj movement, undoubtely, began as a force of nonconformity. But since 1940's its activities in Bihar were so much directed towards Shuddhi, Go Raksha and Hindi Raksha that it conveyed the impression of being the chief protector of traditional Hinduism. It launched the Shuddhi movement or the 'purification process' on a fair scale to bring back to the fold of Hinduism those individuals who had been converted earlier as Muslims and Christians.[1] It also set up the Go Raksha Samitis or cow protection societies which brought it close to communal organisations like the Hindu Mahasabha.[2] Again, the members of the Arya Samaj in all parts of the province

1. Kenneth Jones, *The Arya Samaj*, New Delhi, 1978, p. 36.

2. Asha Singh, op. cit., p. 277.

actively participated in the country's freedom struggle. They helped the growth of nationalist spirit. The British authorities resorted to severe measures against the Arya Samaj members for their active participation in the Civil Disobedience Movement and Quit India Movement.[1] But the brand of nationalism advocated by the Arya Samaj's was basically religious in character. It glorified the ancient Indian cultural heritage and hinted at the supremacy of Hinduism. Thus, the Samaj gradually turned into a citadel for safeguarding the interests of Hindus, Hinduism and Hindi.

Yet we have every reason to point out that the Arya Samaj's role in the development of man and society in Bihar has been a positive one. The members of the Samaj worked with dedication and devotion to bring reform and change in several spheres of society. Its accomplishment in the sphere of education has been outstanding. Here it came not only as a regenerative but also as a modernising force. It is true that the Samaj's achievements in Bihar, when compared with those in the northern part of the country, appear to be less significant. But in making an estimate of its role, we must always keep in mind the hazards and obstructions it had to face in a conservative society like that of Bihar. Taking them into consideration its achievements in the province stand out as noteworthy.

III

Among other religious groups which left their reformist mark on the society of Bihar, mention may be made of the Ramakrishna Mission, Theosophical Society and Kabir Panth. The Ramakrishna movement was formally launched with the establishment of the Ramakrishna Math and Mission at Jamshedpur in 1920. The followers of the movement had particular attraction for Bihar because Ramakrishna Paramhansa, Swami Vivekananda and Sister Nivedita had visited the province several times, being fascinated by the natural beauty and

1. Ibid., p. 280.

devotional atmosphere of Bodh-Gaya and Deoghar.[1] In 1922, Mission branches were set up at Deoghar and Patna. The R. K. Mission Ashrama of Patna gradually became the chief centre of the movement in Bihar. The Ranchi branch of the Mission was set up in 1927, and very soon it became an active centre.[2] With the passage of time the movement spread its influence to other parts of the province. It was fortunate to enjoy the financial patronage, particularly of the Bengali Hindus, in the province. Moreover, its organizational structure was large and dedicated. Again, unlike the Brahma Samaj, it made extensive use of Hindi and thus attracted a much larger following.

Inspired by the ideals of Ramakrishna and Vivekananda, the Mission workers did constructive work in the fields of education and humanitarian service. The Ramakrishna Mission Vidyapitha of Deoghar and the Ramakrishna Mission Vivekananda Society of Jamshedpur are among the highly reputed educational institutions in Bihar. An outstanding work in the sphere of education has been Divyayan. It is a residential rural development institution set up with the objective of training rural youths in agriculture, dairy and poultry farming, horticulture and community services.[3] It is an excellent innovation and stands as a model training centre for rural development work. It has trained a large number of rural youths, particularly of the tribal areas. Besides these, the Student's Home and the Turiyananda Library in the R. K. Mission Ashrama premises at Patna are among the great contributions of the movement. The Ramakrishna movement in Bihar can also be credited with humanitarian services for the poor people. It set up a good number of charitable dispensaries, hospitals and a T. B. sanatorium.

But the role of the movement in social reform is a extremely limited one. It hardly made any attempt to fight against social evils like

1. Swami Prabhananda, "The Ramakrishna Movement in Bihar" in Swami Vedantananda (ed.), *Religion in Bihar in the Modern Age*, Patna, 1984, pp.85–86.
2. Ibid., p. 88.
3. Annual Report of the Ramakrishna Mission Ashram, Morabadi Hills, Ranchi, 1983, p. 2.

caste-system and dowry system. It never took any initiative in arranging inter-caste marriages. It devoted itself in preserving some traditional customs and conventions of the Hindu society. The Durga Puja, the Kali Puja and the Kumari Puja are celebrated with great enthusiasm at the Mission's ashramas. Regular discourses on the *Vedas* and *Ramacharit Manas* are conducted at the Ashrama halls. The Hindu revivalist trend is clearly visible. One scholar views the movement as "the revival of the Sanatana Dharma."[1] Yet it deserves a noteworthy place in the province's modern history for its role in promoting modern education and for its humanitarian work.

The Theosophical movement began in Bihar with the establishment of the first Lodge of the Theosophical Society at Bhagalpur in 1882. The movement with its emphasis on pure life, attainment of wisdom, love for all human beings irrespective of caste, community, race or religion, and religious tolerance[2] made great appeal to the educated section of the society. The movement in Bihar was fortunate to have the active involvement of eminent Theosophists like Col. Olcott, Annie Besant, Dr. G. S. Arundale and his wife Rukmini Arundale.[3] Within a few months after the establishment of the Bhagalpur Lodge, the Theosophical Lodges came up at Gaya, Arrah and Patna. It attracted educated people of all castes and communities. Some Muslims also became members of the society.[4]

The movement received a great impetus with the opening of branches at Deoghar, Monghyr, Jamalpur, Siwan, Muzaffarpur and Hajipur and the formation of the Bihar Theosophical Federation at Patna in 1900.[5] It possessed activists and patrons like Tej Narayan Singh,

1. Siddheswar Chattopadhyaya, "Revival of the Sanatana Dharma in Bihar in the 19th and 20th Centuries and its Impact," in Swami Vedantananda (ed), op. cit., p. 19.
2. Ramjivan Sinha, *Hundred Years of the Theosophical Society and Theosophy*, Patna, 1982, p. 11.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., p. 12.
5. P. N. Misra and N. K. Jha, op. cit., p. 111.

Purnendu Narayan Sinha and Maharaja Lakshmishwar Singh of Darbhanga. Tej Narayan Singh was a rich and influencial resident of Bhagalpur, and the guiding spirit of the Lodge there. He set up a school at Bhagalpur to educate children in true Theosophical spirit. This school in course of time became the famous Tej Narayan Jubilee College, and at present, known as the T. N. B. College. The Theosophists set up schools in other places too. Purnendu Narayan Sinha, a government advocate of Patna, had established the P. N. Anglo-Sanskrit School at Patna. The movement attracted a good number of educated Biharis, which the Brahmo Samaj had failed to do. This was mainly due to the importance it attached to a pure life guided by a moral code and the emphasis it put on the ancient Indian cultural heritage, plus its wide use of Hindi in lectures and discourses.

Inspite of having active and dedicated workers, the movement showed a definite decline since the 1940's. Like the Brahmo Samaj it depended upon the professional bourgeoisie for its sustenance. Again, like the former, it lacked an organization structure with paid workers. Being elitist in character it survived so long as it possessed devoted leaders and rich patrons. Moreover, its commitment to social reform was a limited one. It certainly spoke against social evils, but never took up cudgel against the caste-system or dowry system. Its fight against the social evils was done in a cautious manner. For example, one of its schools, the Hindu Collegiate School, had put restriction on the admission of married students; this was done to discourage child-marriages.[1] Yet its contributions in the sphere of education and intellect are still remembered and a few institutions still stand as monument to the dedication and devotion of the early Theosophists.

The Kabir Panthi movement was the most populist in character. With inspiration and guidance coming from the Kabir Panthi headquarters at Kabir Chaurah, Benaras, the movement spread in all parts of Bihar and attracted mainly the lower caste people like Koiris, Kahars, Chamars,

1. *The Searchlight*, 5 December 1918; also see P. N. Misra and N. K. Jha, op. cit., p. 112.

Dusadhs and Pasis. There were some upper caste members too, particularly Brahmins and Rajputs. The simple preachings of Kabir based on love, brotherhood, peace and fellow-feeling appealed to a large section of the people. If the Arya Samaj movement attracted the intermediary castes, particularly the Baniyas, the Kabir Panthi movement brought in large number of lower caste people within its fold. Kabir Sangathans were set up in Patna, Monghyr and Gaya initially, and later branches came up in other places. Prayers and discourses are regularly held. It definitely helped to bring different castes within a single platform. That is in itself a sort of silent social revolution at the grassroots level.

To sum up, all the reform movements with difference of degrees left their mark in the field of education. Education was the most fundamental and convenient means for effecting social reform, particularly in the matter of female emancipation. The liberal, progressive and forward-looking movements like the Brahmo Samaj and Theosophical Society could not succeed for their limited appeal and elitist character. Their assimilative and synthetic attitude also proved a deterrent factor. The Arya Samaj and the Ramkrishna movements, on the other hand, could sustain themselves due to well-built organizational structure and steady patronage, but more due to their adherence to the main body of Hinduism. Without undermining their great contributions, it cannot be denied that they somehow fostered the revivalist forces and stalled the emergence of a broad composite unifying culture.

Reader
Department of History
Patna University, Patna

Tourism in Bihar ; Retrospect & Prospect

SRI UMA NATH

Introductory

Promotion of Tourism in our country is essential not only for the sake of the immense economic and cultural benefits involved in it, but also for the manifold political and international advantages that are likely to accrue to the nation, in the process. Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of independent India, rightly observed in a massege, given about a quarter of a century ago, as follows :

> "We must welcome these friendly visitors from abroad not only for economic reasons, for tourism brings foreign exchange, but even more so because this leads to greater understanding and mutual appreciation. There is nothing that the world needs today more than this mutual understanding...... I would particularly like to impress upon the officials and others connected with the Departments in the States and at the Centre to give unfailing courtesy and consideration to the tourists."

In a vast sub-continent like India, comprising a number of administratively autonomous States inhabited by different groups of peoples, pursuing their respective religions as well as political faiths and speaking different languages, a well-planned programme of development of inter-state tourism is likely to secure the long cherished goal of national as well as emotional integration and thereby contribute significantly to an easy solution of many controversial political problems agitating the nation as a whole. On the other hand, the desired growth and expansion of the foreign tourist traffic to India is expected to pave the way for international

1. Report of the Ad hoc Committee on Tourism, Government of India, Chapter II, p. 7.

understanding, facilitating universal peace and prosperity. Evidently, therefore, it, is essential that the Union Government as well as the various State Governments, in the country, should allocate the top most priority to the various schemes and projects devoted to the development of tourism and expansion of facilities for the tourists, domestic as well as international, in various regions of the country.

Development in Bihar

The history of growth and development of tourism, in modern Bihar, may be traced back from the 2500th anniversary celebration of the Mahaparinirvan of Lord Buddha, under the auspices of the national Government of India, in 1956, when Tourist Information Centres were opened at selected Buddhist Centres of pilgrimage in the State, viz., Bodhgaya, Rajgir and Nalanda, with the financial assistance of the Government of India in the Ministry of Transport and Communication (Department of Tourism). These Tourist Information Centres were mainly intended to facilitate the visit of thousands of Buddhist pilgrims and tourists, particularly those hailing from the Buddhist countries of South East Asia visiting the various Buddhist shrines located in the holy land of origin of Buddhism. These Tourist Information Centres, which served useful purpose of dissemination of authentic information relating to transportation, accommodation, guidance etc. for the benefit of the tourists, were administratively managed and maintained by the Department of Public Relations because the independent Department of Tourism had not been established till then.

The author of this article was associated with the working of the aforesaid Tourist Information Centres from the very beginning in the capacity of a senior administrative officer of the Public Relations Department and was also privileged to function as the first Director of Tourism of Bihar for long seventeen years (1961-77).

Phenomenal Growth

The phenomenal growth and expansion of tourist facilities in Bihar, during the past three decades, may be evident from the fact that remark-

able progress has been achieved in almost every sector of tourist development. The dissemination of useful information about the places of attraction, provision of comfortable means of transport for the tourists, establishment of well-equipped tourist bungalows, rest-houses, lodges and youth hotels for the tourists and availability of trained guides, besides facilities of social and cultural entertainment and recreation for the tourists are now easily available at various centres of tourist attraction in the State.

State Directorate of Tourism

In pursuance of the recommendation made by the Government of India in the Department of Tourism, Ministry of Transport and Communication, the State Government of Bihar established an independent State Directorate of Tourism for the State of Bihar, in October, 1961. The Directorate of Tourism was entrusted with the task of providing adequate facilities for the tourists visiting various places of attraction in the State, as also the development and beautification of the tourist centres. As a matter of policy it was laid down that the Central Department of Tourism would look after the foreign tourists and the State Directorates of Tourism would concentrate on the home tourists.

Integrated Development of Tourist Centres

The Government of India in the Ministry of Transport and Communication (Department of Tourism) appointed an Ad Hoc Committee on Tourism, under the Chairmanship of Sri L. K. Jha, I. C. S., in 1963, with a view to examine the conditions prevailing in the country from the point of view of promoting tourism and suggesting ways and means for improving these conditions. Sri S. N. Chib, Director General of Tourism, Government of India, was made the Member-Secretary of the aforesaid Committee. The L. K. Jha Committee (as it was popularly called) studied, in detail, the conditions prevailing in different States with the assistance of the State Government officials and submitted its monumental report to the Government of India within the year 1963.

The L. K. Jha Committee considered the cases of about one hundred and fifty places of tourist interest on the map of India and finally

selected only thirtyeight tourist centres located in different parts of the country for integrated development, specially from the point of view of provision of adequate facilities for the benefit of foreign tourists. This list included three international tourist Centres of Bihar, viz, Rajgir, Nalanda and Bodh Gaya.[1]

The Government of India in the Department of Tourism accepted the above mentioned recommendation of the L. K. Jha Committee and decided to include the aforesaid three international tourist centres of Bihar in Central Plan for integrated development with the assistance of the Department of Tourism of the State Government of Bihar.

Tourist Information Centres

With the establishment of a separate Directorate of Tourism for the State of Bihar, in 1961, the pace of expansion of infrastructure of tourist facilities in the State was considerably accelerated. The number of Tourist Information Centres in Bihar has grown from only 5 in 1961 to as many as 48 in 1986-87.[2] These Information Centres are located at important places of tourist attraction in the State, besides New Delhi, Calcutta, Varanasi, Puri and Bombay, outside Bihar. These Information Centres, in addition to dissemination of useful information for the benefit of the tourists, also assist them in securing facilities of accommodation, transportation and guidance, on appropriate payment of charges, if and when desired by individual tourist.

Accommodation for Tourists

When the Department of Tourism was started in Bihar, in 1961, it had no accommodation of its own for the tourists. Now, there are as many as twenty-two Tourist Bungalows, Rest Houses and Youth Hostels maintained by the Department at different tourist centres in the State. The Tourist Information Centres at Calcutta and Varanasi also provide

1. Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Tourism, Government of India, Chapter IX, p. 47.
2. Annual Report on the working of the Department of Tourism, Bihar (1986-87), pp. 9-10 (Appendix-Ka).

accommodation facilities for the tourists. The details of accommodation available at different centres are given below:—

		No. of beds
1.	Tourist Bhawan, Patna	84
2.	Tourist Bungalow No. 1, Rajgir	50
3.	Tourist Bungalow No. 2, Rajgir	48
4.	Tourist Bungalow No. 1, Bodhgaya	40
5.	Tourist Bungalow No, 2, Bodhgaya	16
6.	Tourist Bungalow, Netarhat	48
7.	Tourist Bungalow No. 1, Deoghar	60
8.	Tourist Bungalow No. 2, Deoghar	50
9.	Tourist Bungalow, Vaisali	10
10.	Tourist Bungalow, Basukinath	22
11.	Tourist Bungalow, Dhanbad	24
12.	Tourist Bungalow, Sitamarhi	22
13.	Tourist Rest House, Hazaribagh	10
14.	Tourist Rest House, Daltonganj	5
15.	Tourist Rest House, Chapra	2
16.	Tourist Rest House, Calcutta	4
17.	Tourist Rest House, Varanasi	4
18.	Tourist Rest House, Puri	4
19.	Tourist Dormitory, Vaisali	12
20.	Youth Hostel, Rajgir	—
21.	Youth Hostel, Bodhgaya	—
22.	Youth Hostel, Netarhat	—

The details of accommodation available to the tourists at various centres are based on the Annual Report of the State Tourism Department.[1]

The Department of Tourism of the State Government also assists the tourists by making accommodation available in hotels and other rest houses, on payment of the scheduled charges, according to the requirements of the tourists.

1. Annual Report on the working of the Department of Tourism, Bihar (1986-87) pp. 10 and 13.

Facilities of Transportation

With the establishment of the Bihar State Tourism Development Corporation, in 1980, all the tourist vehicles maintained by the Department of Tourism were transferred to the aforesaid Corporation for running and maintaining them for the benefit of the tourists. About two dozen such tourist vehicles are being run by the State Tourism Corporation at Patna and certain other tourist centres in the State.

A Transport unit of the India Tourism Development Corporation has also been operating in the State of Bihar since 1969. This Transport unit maintains a fleet of tourist vehicles, including airconditioned cars, ambassador cars and luxury coaches, for the benefit of tourists, specially foreign tourists.

Hotels and Motels

In pursuance of the Hotel Development Scheme initiated by the Department of Tourism of the Government of India, the State Directorate of Tourism offered adequate facilities to the promoters of hotels, in the private sector, in the shape of making suitable plots of land available at concessional rates and grant of loans through the State Financial Corporation. These facilities were availed of by the private hoteliers and consequently a number of good hotels were established at Patna, Gaya, Ranchi, Dhanbad, Jamshedpur, Bhagalpur, Begusarai, Muzaffarpur, Raxaul, Chapra and other places in the State. These new hotels have been classified according to the modern standards of star categories prescribed by the Central Department of Tourism. Several well-equipped modern hotels have also been established at different places of tourist attraction in the State, even without the assistance of Government. Special mention may be made of some outstanding hotels in Bihar established in the wake of promotion of tourism.

Hotel Maurya

The Hotel Maurya has been established at Patna, in the private sector, on a splendid piece of land located on the south-western corner of

the Gandhi Maidan. Its initial cost was more than rupees one crore and the facilities provided are of the 5-Star category. It has about 100 rooms of different types, besides other amenities of a modern high-class tourist hotel specially suited to the requirements of the foreign tourists.

Hotel Pataliputra Ashoka

The Hotel Pataliputra Ashoka has been established at Patna by the Central Department of Tourism on a plot of land in the New Capital area made available by the State Government of Bihar. The hotel has 56 double rooms and it is managed by the Indian Tourism Development Corporation. As a special feature of this hotel mention may be made of its 8 Day-rooms introduced for the first time by the I. T. D. C. Its initial cost was about rupees one crore.

Hockey Club Hotel

The Hockey Club of Japan has established a modern hotel of high standard at Rajgir on a piece of land made available by the State Government of Bihar in the vicinity of the new Venu Van Vihar of the Japanese Buddhists and the Veerayatan of the Jains.

Motel Scheme

One hundred motels (roadside restaurant cum rest-houses) were proposed to be established by the State Directorate of Tourism, under the special employment scheme initiated by the Government of India, in 1976-77. One hundred selected trainees were specially trained for the purpose at the Catering Institute, Calcutta. One hundred plots of land, measuring half an acre each, were selected on different National and state highways in the State for allottment to the aforesaid trainees at concessional rates. Necessary financial assistance, at the rate of rupees one lac for each trainee, was also ensured through the co-operation of the nationalised banks. Unfortunately, the aforesaid Motel Scheme has not been materialised, so far. But some of the trainees have established their own motels with their personal resources.

Aerial Ropeway Chairlift

The Department of Tourism of the State Government undertook the scheme for the installation of an Aerial Ropeway Chairlift at Rajgir, in 1967, with the co-operation of the Japan-Bharat-Sarvodaya Mitrata Sangha of Japan, under the benevolent guidance of its President, Most Venerable Nichidatsu Fujii Guruji, who was also the President of the Nipponzan Myohoji (Japan) and founder Patron of the Rajgir Buddha Vihar Society. Equipments worth about rupees 3 lacs were received as a gift from Japan under the instruction of Revered Guruji and the State Government, with the financial assistance of the Central Department of Tourism, spent a sum of rupees 18.40 lacs for the implementation of the project, which was inaugurated by Dr. V. V. Giri, the President of India, on the 25th October, 1969. This Chairlift is a substantial attraction for the tourists and pilgrims visiting Rajgir and it facilitates their transportation to the top of the Ratnagiri Hill, where the Vishwa Shanti Stupa is located.

Revival of Glories of Rajgir

Revered Fujii Guruji visited India on the occasion of the 2500th anniversary celebration of the Mahaparinirvana of Lord Buddha, in 1956, in response to the cordial invitation of Prime Minister Jawahar Lal Nehru. He also agreed to be a member of the high-power Rajgir Development Committee constituted by the Government of India, under the guidance of Pardit Nehru. Subsequently, Guruji initiated his own plans for the development of Rajgir with a view to revive its ancient glories. For this purpose the Rajgir Buddha Vihar Society was founded by Guruji in 1964.[1]

Vishwa Shanti Stupa & other Monuments

It was under the auspices of the Rajgir Buddha Vihar Society that the Vishwa Shanti Stupa was erected on the top of the Ratnagiri Hill at Rajgir (1965-69) with the generous financial aid given by Guruji. The

1. Rajgir : Past & Present published by the Rajgir Buddha Vihar Society, p. 20.

160 ft. high Vishwa Shanti Stupa at Rajgir is the biggest Stupa in the world. It was inaugurated by Dr. V. V. Giri, the President of India, on the 25th October, 1969, along with the Aerial Ropeway Chairlift at Rajgir.

Among other projects implemented by the Rajgir Buddha Vihar Society for the revival of the past glories of Rajgir, with munificent financial assistance of Guruji mention may be made of the Saddharma Vihar at the top of the Ratnagiri Hill, inaugurated by Sri Morarji Bhai Desai, the Prime Minister of India, in 1978 and the new Venu Van Vihar, contructed close to the site of the ancient Venu Van Vihar of King Bimbisara, which was inaugurated by Sri Neelam Sanjiva Reddy, the President of India, in 1981.

All these monuments, which are virtual gifts of Revered Fujji Guruji to Rajgir (Bihar), have contributed significantly to the promotion of international tourist traffic to Bihar, particularly from the Buddhist countries of South East Asia.

Tourist Arrivals

In view of the details furnished in the foregoing paragraphs, it is evident that Bihar has registered considerable progress, in the sphere of Tourism, during the past three decades, with the result that the number of tourists visiting the places of attraction in Bihar has grown from 84,819 in 1961 to 10,86,447 in 1981. It is understood that the figures of both domestic and foreign tourists visiting Bihar has been increasing steadily and it must have been considerably augumented during the past seven years (1981-87).[1]

International Tourist Year

In pursuance of the resolution adopted by the United Nations, in 1966, the International Tourist Year was celebrated in India, among other countries of the world, during the year 1967. The Tourist Development Council of the Government of India welcomed the aforesaid decision of

1. Annual Reports of the Department of Tourism, Bihar for 1982–83 and 1986–87.

the United Nations and earnestly appealed to the various Tourist organisations in the country, including the Tourism Departments of the State Governments, to celebrate the International Tourist year-1967 in an appropriate manner. The Central Department of Tourism allotted a sum of Rs. 5 crores only, to be spent under the Fourth Five Year Plan, for special programmes implemented in the course of the International Tourist Year. The State Directorate of Tourism of the Bihar Government celebrated the Tourist Week at selected tourist centres in the State, in the month of November, 1967, with a view to acquainting the tourists and public with the significance and importance of the International Tourist Year, which ultimately aimed at the establishment of world peace.

World Tourism Organisation

Six years after the celebration of the International Tourist Year, the World Tourism Organisation (WTO) was established, under the auspices of the United Nations. The WTO functions as the apex body devoted to the cause of promotion of international tourism. Its main objective is to pool information and experience of the various nations in the field of tourism development, so that the experience of one country may be made available to others and suitably utilised in their own process of development. This international organisation also encourages uniformity in Governmental regulations with regard to tourism and tries to bring about the simplification of travel formalities.[1]

New Delhi Declaration

The Government of India in the Ministry of Tourism & Civil Aviation strongly supported the WTO and effectively contributed to its success. The fifth General Assembly of the World Tourism Organisation was held at New Delhi, in October, 1983. Sri Khurshed Alam Khan, the Union Minister for Tourism & Civil Aviation, who presided over the Assembly, presented a six-point plan, in the course of his concluding

1 Indian Tourism: Aspects of a Great Adventure by Dr. Karan Singh, Minister for Tourism and Civil Aviation, Govt. of India.

presidential remarks, which was rightly acclaimed as the New Delhi Declaration. It consisted of the following items of work intended to promote international tourism :—(i) pursuing a vigorous programme of action for the creation of facilities of standard and costs that are within the means of average traveller; (ii) offering incentives to remote larger movements of persons within their own countries and also internationally; (iii) making available to the developing nations larger opportunities for vocational training in tourism by the developed countries; (iv) facilitating interchange of information and experience among developing countries in vocational training for tourism and travel management; (v) studying, identifying and offering solutions to the problems posed by pollution resulting from touristic activities; and (vi) working out a precise programme, in consultation with the national authorities aimed at conservation of heritage and environment.[1]

World Tourism Day

In pursuance of the decision taken by the WTO, the World Tourism Day is being celebrated annually on the 27th of September, in different parts of the globe, including India. The Central Department of Tourism has enthusiastically organised the celebration of the World Tourism Day in different States of the country. The State Directorate of Tourism of the Government of Bihar and the Bihar State Tourism Development Corporation also participate in the celebrations.

Financial Allocations

Judging from the quantum of financial allocations for the development of tourism and expansion of tourist facilities, in the State of Bihar the growth and evolution of tourism has been, indeed, phenomenal and astonishing. It may be interesting to recall here that the State Directorate of Tourism was ushered into existence in 1961, when the Third Five Year Plan was in the process of formulation. A meagre outlay of Rs. 10 lacs only for the entire Third Plan period was considered good enough for the

1. *The Indian Nation*, Patna, dated 14th October, 1983.

promotion of tourism and expansion of facilities for the tourists in the State. On the basis of actual performance, during the Third Plan period, the amount of outlay for the Fourth Five Year Plan was doubled and a sum of Rs. 20 lacs was provided. But, as a result of encouraging performance, the allocation of Rs. 20 lacs was exceeded by Rs 5 lacs. As such when the Fifth Five Year Plan was formulated, the quantum of outlay was again doubled and an amount of Rs. 50 lacs was provided. This outlay of Rs. 50 lacs was further raised to Rs. 75 lacs in the third year of the Fifth Plan, on the basis of satisfactory performance during the first two years.

In the Sixth Five Year Plan (1980–85), the amount of outlay for the Tourism Plan was originally kept at Rs. 150 lacs, but it was raised to Rs. 168 lacs on the basis of actual expenditure.

In the Seventh Five Year Plan (1985–90), the approved outlay for the Tourism Plan has been kept at Rs. 700 lacs. An amount of Rs. 200 lacs was spent in the first year of the Seventh Plan (1986–87) and another amount of Rs. 212 lacs was spent in the second year (1986–87). In view of the increased expenditure, during the first two years of the 7th Plan, it is proposed to revise and augment the amounts of outlay for the remaining years of the Plan. The amount proposed for the current year (1987–88) is Rs. 250 lacs and that for the ensuing year (1988–89) is Rs. 310 lacs. Evidently, therefore, the total amount of outlay for the 7th plan on Tourism is sure to exceed even Rs. 1,000 lacs (i. e. Rs. 10 crores).

The detailed analysis of the amounts of outlay and actual expenditure for the various schemes of Tourism, included in the 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th Five Year Plans, makes it evident that amount of Rs. 10 lacs only approved, in 1961 as outlay of the Third Five Year Plan on Tourism has risen to more than Rs. 1,000 lacs likely to be sanctioned as outlay for the 7th Plan. This growth of financial outlay to the extent of 100 times, in the course of a quarter of a century, is, indeed, phenomenal and astonishing.

New Schemes

Among the new schemes included in 7th Plan to be implemented during the current year (1987-88) and the ensuing year (1988-89) mention may be made of the construction of the Third Tourist Bungalow at Rajgir, furnishing of Tourist Bungalows and rest-houses at Sasaram, Rajgir, Madhuban and Ranchi, construction of pilgrim roads at Deokund, Vidyapatinagar, Panaura (Sitamarhi), and Areraj (Champaran), construction of internal road in the forest lodge of Betla (Palamau), intensive Tourist Publicity programme, construction of building for the Directorate of Tourism at Patna, provision of wayside facilities for the tourists at Pawapuri, Biharsharif, Hisua, Kuru, Gumla, Pipra Kothi, Dobhi, Mohania, Lakhisarai etc., construction of tourist lodges at Sasaram, Madhuban, Muzaffarpur, Chapra and Masanjore, construction of a tourist cottage at Bhimbandh and construction of an auditorium at Netarhat.

In addition to the aforesaid schemes included in the State Plan, a number of schemes of tourist facilities have been included in the Central sector of the 7th Plan, notable among them being the construction of a Tourist lodge at Betla and construction of Tourist cafeterias at Maner and Rajgir.[1]

Bihar State Tourism Development Corporation

With a view to securing the desired expansion of tourist facilities in Bihar at a rapid pace and undertaking the commercial activities connected with the development of Tourism in the State, the Bihar State Tourism Development Corporation was established in November, 1980. The Corporation started functioning with effect from the year 1980-81 and all commercial activities of the Department of Tourism relating to the establishment and management of the tourist Bungalows, Cafeterias, Aerial Ropeway Chairlift (Rajgir) and the maintenance as well as operation of the tourist vehicles at various tourist centres in the State were transferred to the Bihar State Tourism Development Corporation and the

1. Annual Report on the Working of the Department of Tourism, Bihar for the year 1986-87, pp. 7-8.

total amount of their costs valued at Rs. 55.04 lacs was adjusted to the authorised capital of the Corporation, which was raised from Rs. 100 lacs to Rs. 200 lacs (i. e. 2 crores).

The Corporation is operating a regular luxury coach service between Patna and Ranchi, everyday, besides local sight-seeing of places of attraction in and around Patna. It also arranges for conducted tourist trips to important tourist centres like Kathmandu (Nepal) and Badrinath-Kedarnath (U. P.) besides Pawapuri-Nalanda-Rajgir in Bihar, from time to time.

The Corporation is also constructing a high-class luxury tourist hotel at Ranchi to be called as Hotel Ranchi Asoka as a joint venture with the India Tourism Development Corporation. An Engineering Cell has been established under the Corporation for undertaking building construction projects.[1]

The Department of Tourism of the State Government provides the necessary financial resources for the Corporation in order to ensure the successful implementation of its scheme and projects. The State Government have paid up a total amount of Rs. 194.25 lacs to the Corporation, so far. The total amount of income of the Corporation from 1980-81 to 1986-87 comes to Rs. 136.93 lacs, as against a total expenditure of Rs. 121.35 lacs, thereby, showing a profit of Rs. 15.58 lacs, of course, excluding the amount of depreciation.

Tourism as Industry

In pursuance of the recommendation made by the Government of India in the Ministry of Tourism and Civil Aviation, the State Government of Bihar in the Department of Tourism has declared Tourism to be an industry within the State of Bihar. As a result of the aforesaid declaration, all the tourist establishments in the State are entitled to a number of facilities and concessions regarding grant of loans and subsidy, supply of

1. Annual Report of the Tourism Department, Bihar 1982–83, p. 9.

power and water, allotment of Government lands, training of personnel etc.[1]

Government of India Tourism Office

In view of the splendid progress and achievements relating to promotion of Tourism in Bihar, as also in view of its bright prospects, the Government of India in the Ministry of Tourism and Civil Aviation has recently established its own Tourist Office at Patna, under a full-fledged Director, specially to attend to the facilities for foreign tourists visiting the places of attraction in Bihar.

Former Director of Tourism
Bihar

1. The State Government Notification No. 148, dated the 21st January, 1987, issued by the Department of Tourisue, Government of Bihar.

Anthropological Studies in Bihar

MAKHAN JHA

The celebration of the "Seventyfive years of Bihar (1912-1987)" also coincides with the publication of the first anthropological monograph, "The Munda and Their Country" (1912), written by the first Indian anthropologist, Sir Sarat Chandra Roy (1871-1942), the father of Indian Anthropology. The publication of this first anthropological monograph is considered to be a landmark in the history of anthropological studies in India, in general, and Bihar, in particular. Thus, it is a befitting occasion when an attempt should be made, in brief, to throw light on the anthropological studies in Bihar.

T. K. Penniman[1] (1935), while reviewing the anthropological studies of the world, coined four words viz. the Formulatory Period (before 1835 A. D.), the Convergent Period (1835 to 1859), the Constructive Period (1859-1900) and the Critical Period (1900-1935). The Indian anthropologists[2] (Mazumdar : 1956; Vidyarthi : 1966, 1978) borrowed these words to review the progress of anthropological studies in India. While both Mazumdar and Vidyarthi unanimously agreed that the year 1774, when the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal was established, is the date of birth of scientific anthropological studies in India, which was called the Formulatory Period of Indian Anthropology and it continued up to 1912, according to Mazumdar (1956) when the first anthropological monograph—*The Munda and Their Country*, written by S. C. Roy, as mention-

1. For detail see Penniman's Book—*A Hundred Year of Anthropology*; London, Gerald Duckworth, 1935.
2. For detail see Professor Vidyarthi's Paper in *Journal of Social Research*, 1966; and his Book-*Rise of Anthropology in India* (in two volumes); Concept Publishing Co., New Delhi, 1978.

ed above, was published. The Constructive Period, thereafter, started in in Indian Anthropology, as suggested by Mazumdar. However, Vidyarthi (1978) did not agree with his teacher, Mazumdar, about the beginning of the Constructive Period in Indian Anthropology and he suggested that while the Formulatory Period continued up to 1920, the Constructive Period started only thereafter. Vidyarthi gave three main points in favour of his arguments, which may be summarised below :

(i) That for the first time teaching of anthropology in India at the Post-Graduate level was started in 1920 at the University of Calcutta, which opened a door for the Constructive work in Indian Anthropology;

(ii) That for the first time in India an anthropological research journal entitled Man-in-India was started from Ranchi in 1921 by S. C. Roy, which is still continuing;

(iii) That for the first time teaching of Social Anthropology was incorporated in the curriculum of Sociology, which was started in the Bombay University in 1919.

All these constructive developments, according to Vidyarthi, took place in Indian Anthropology in and around 1920 and hence instead of 1912, as argued by Mazumdar, the Formulatory Period in Indian Anthropology ended in 1920 and, thereafter, the Constructive Period started, which continued up to 1947 when India got independence. The Analytical Period in Indian Anthropology, Vidyarthi further says, started after India's independence, which is still continuing.

Anthropological Researches in Bihar

The anthropological researches in Bihar may be categorised into three phases viz.

(i) Firstly, what types of anthropological researches were done during the Formulatory Period (1774-1920) and who were those scholars ?

(ii) Secondly, what types of anthropological works were done during the Constructive Period (1920-1947) ?

(iii) And thirdly, what types of analytical works have been done after India's independence in Bihar ?.

Let us discuss them, in brief, one by one.

(i) During the first phase of Indian Anthropology, when the British were ruling India, they required anthropological knowledge for the smooth running of their administration in India. Hence, the British administrators started collecting the ethnographic details on the tribes and castes, which were compiled and published from time to time for wider circulation. Their approach was not "problem-oriented", rather it was "fact-finding mission" for running the colonial administration. Among those British administrators-cum-scholars, who collected bulk of data on the tribes and castes of Bihar, special mention may be made of Dalton[1] (1872), Bainbridge[2] (1907), Bradley-Birt[3] (1903), O'Malley[4] (1907), Bodding[5] etc. The ethnographic details, given by these scholars, still provide the bench-line data on the tribes and castes of Bihar. However, their works, as mentioned earlier, were of simple descriptive and ethnographic nature.

(ii) During the Constructive phase of Indian Anthropology, S. C. Roy singed in the firmament like a big star. By profession he was a lawyer and dealt with the cases of Adivasis of Chotanagpur since 1898 when he settled in Ranchi and that's why he came in touch with the Adivasis of Chotanagpur plateau, which finally inspired him to concentrate, more and more, on the tribes of this region. As mentioned earlier, his first monograph-*The Munda and Their Country* (1912) brought a turning

1. For detail see Col. E. T. Dalton's Book-"Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal", Govt. Printing Press, Calcutta, 1872.
2 For detail see his long essay-"The Saorias of the Rajmahal Hills", Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
3. For detail see F. B Bradely -Birt's Book-Chotanagpur : A Little-Known Province of the Empire"; Smith, Elder & Co, London.
4. Mr. L. S. S. O'Malley compiled the first District Gazetteer of Bihar.
5. Bodding studied the Santhal and collected good ethnographic details.

point in the history of anthropological study in India. Just three years later, he brought out another important monograph on "The Oraon of Chotanagpur" (1915) and, thereafter, a series of monographs on different tribes of Bihar were published by him. Among those monographs, written by S. C. Roy on the tribes of this region, special mention may be made of "*The Birhors–A Little known Jungle Tribe of Chotanagpur*" (1925), "*Oraon Religion and Custom*" (1928), '*The Hill Bhuinyas of Orissa*"(1935), "*The Kharias*" (1937) etc; besides about 95 anthropological papers and essays were also published by him.

When Roy started his career as a lawyer in Ranchi, as mentioned above, he took a humanitarian interest in the study of Munda and other tribes of Chotanagpur. Roy, a self-styled anthropologist, with his great compassion for the tribal people, developed his first interest in the tribal customary laws in view of his profession as a lawyer. Professionally he also found it useful to learn the tribal languages. He was also fortunate in receiving the patronage and financial support from the British Government and Missionaries. The publication of "*The Munda and Their Country*" removed a long felt want and was acknowledged by the High Courts of Patna and Calcutta as an authoritative text on the Munda. In recognition of his works in the field of tribal societies, Roy was honoured by the title of "Rai Bahadur" in 1939 by the Government.

In course of his anthropological ethnographic work, Roy also came in contact with the eminent British anthropologists like Frazer, Rivers, Marret and a host of other British scholars, who have expressed their appreciation of Roy's meticulous and monumental works in course of writing the preface to some of his book as well as elsewhere. In recognition of his anthropological researches among the tribes of Bihar, in particular, and India in general, Roy was elected honorary member of the Folklore Society, London and in the same year he was also elected President of the Anthropology & Archaeology section of the Indian Science Congress. His honour in the field of anthropology attained a height when the Indian Science Congress in 1941 decided to honour him with a volume of "*Essays in Anthropology*", written by the eminent anthropologists of

the world, on the occasion of his 70th birthday. In view of all his excellent researches in the field of different branches of anthropology in India in general, and in Chotanagpur in particular, as well as his patient zeal in supervising the works of other anthropologists, Hutton rightly honoured him with the title of the "Father of Indian Ethnology" in presidential address delivered at the Indian Anthropological Institute, Calcutta on 5th January, 1938.

I have stated above all these details about S. C. Roy only with a view to point out that how this first Indian anthropologist, while living at Ranchi, practising at the local bar, spared his valuable time to study the tribes of Bihar so meticulously, which not only brought to him national and international name and fame, but his pioneering researches also brought out the name of Bihar on the anthropological map of the world.

Roy was a man of literature; by profession he was a lawyer; by interest and temperament he was an anthropologist but in his anthropological monographs we get an impression of Roy as a brilliant historian. Let me cite an example from his first monograph "The Munda and Their Country". In this study the author has combined together the history and ethnography of the Munda tribe. In describing the history of the Munda, he obviously deals with the tribal history of Ranchi in particular and Chotanagpur in general. In a series of five chapters, out of six, Roy makes an endeavour to trace the origin of the tribe from different sources including folklore, linguistic and the pre-historic evidences. He also records the long history of the tribe right from the Vedic sources to the sixth century B. C., and then its early and mediaeval history, and finally the modern history covering the period upto the Birsa insurrection. He further goes on to give the details of the coming of the Christian Missionaries, the contribution of Chotanagpur to the first freedom struggle for independence in 1857, the institution of Zamindar and the Bhumihar, the series of Sardesai and agrarian disturbances, the Birsa movement and other events of the British period. The reconstruction of the tribal history of Munda and their country, based on documentary sources, was as a

matter of fact the first attempt in the history of Indian Anthropology and this work provided a perspective in understanding the turns and twists, the ups and downs in the tribal history, which was considered to be beyond reconstruction by the functional anthropologists. In the last (sixth) chapter of this book, which is further divided into nine parts, Roy presents an ethnographic and descriptive account of the contemporary Munda culture covering the different aspects of material culture, village organisation, the social and political institutions, religion and festivals, the dance pattern, folksongs, games etc.

Roy, on the whole, was interested in reconstructing the past of a tribe under the influence of British school of evolution and comparison. It seems, therefore, unbalanced in a monograph to devote five chapters, out of six, to the history of a tribe, but it helped Roy to understand the total background of not only Munda, but also of other tribals inhabiting the Chotanagpur plateau. The ethnographic description of the book is obviously of generalised nature as Roy took Munda as the unit of study and made comparison with the other tribes here and there. The book, however, includes a learned introduction by E. A. Gait, who praised the book in glowing terms.

The book on Munda was followed by his next full length monograph on ' The Oraon of Chotanagpur" (1915). Similarly, this book also contains six chapters, but unlike the book on Munda, only one chapter is devoted to the history of the tribe while the rest of the five chapters bring out an ethnographic picture of the Oraon. He succeeded in collecting such rich data on the Oraon that he proposed to describe them into two volumes. While in the first volume, which came out in 1915, he gave a rounded picture of the Oraon culture, in the second volume he dealt with exclusively on religion, festivals, magical rites and other socio-religious ceremonies. The second volume, known as the "Oraon Religion and Custom" came out in 1928.

Next to S. C. Roy, who did the significant anthropological works in Bihar, were the alumnis of the Department of Anthropology, Calcutta

University, Calcutta. They further accelerated the anthropological researches on the tribes of Bihar and among them special mention may be made of D. N. Mazumdar[1] (1903-1960), who studied the Ho tribe of Singbhum for his Doctoral Thesis submitted to the University of Cambridge in 1935; N. K. Bose (1901-1972), who studied many tribes of Bihar and later concentrated on the "Spring Festival of Chotanagpur" from the diffusion[2] point of view; S. S. Sarkar[3] (1938) studied the Malers of Rajmahal Hills; N. Dutta Mazumdar's study of the Santhal (1956); P. C. Biswas's work on Santhal (1956) etc. These anthropological works, no doubt, provided a guideline for the study of dynamics of the tribal culture in Bihar during the Constructive phase of Indian Anthropology.

(iii) After India's independence the constitutional commitments to ameliorate the conditions of the tribal communities gave further fillip to study and evaluate the processes of change in the tribal societies. Considering the importance of anthropological teaching and researches, the Government of Bihar opened a Post-Graduate Department of Anthropology in July, 1953 at Ranchi, then under the Bihar University, which is presently the only Centre of Advanced Study in Anthropology in whole India.

The teachers and other alumnis of the Department of Anthropology, Ranchi University, within three and half decades, have studied many tribes of Bihar from analytical and action-oriented points of view, besides conducting various large-scale researches not only in Bihar but

1. D. N. Mazumdar later produced several volumes on the Ho tribe and considered Chotanagpur as a place of "anthropological pilgrimage" for the anthropologists.

2. For detail see N K. Bose's book -Cultural Anthropoloy & other Essays" 1953; M. Jha's book-An Introduction to Anthropological Thought: Vikas Publication, New Delhi, 1983.

3. For detail see Sarkar's book, The Malers of Rajmahal Hills; The Book Company, Calcutta, 1938.

also in different parts of India and abroad.[1] Among the important tribes of Bihar, which have been studied and re-studied, special mention may be made of the "Malers" (Vidyarthi : 1963), "The Kharias—Then and Now" (Vidyarthi & Upadhya : 1980), "The Changing Munda" (Sachchidanand : 1979) etc. Earlier, Sachchidanand had also studied (1964, 1968) the processes and pattern of chages in the tribal villages of Chotanapur.

Another analytical study of a tribal market by D. P. Sinha (1968) brings to light a fact that an inter-tribal market is a nucleus not only of economic but also of socio-religious and political centres of the region.

Some minor tribes of Bihar like the Parahiya, the Korwa, the Birhors etc., have also been studied to fill up the gap in the tribal ethnography of Bihar. Recently[2] U. G. C. has sanctioned a major research project to study "The Socio-Economic Problems of the Minor Tribes (Asur & Birjia) of Chotanagpur" in which an attempt is being made to study these two minor and little known tribes not only from ethnographic point of view, but also from analytical angle to know their various problems in depth. Ways and means to eradicate their problems will also be suggested in the study.

Some other problem-oriented studies had also been made earlier viz. an appraisal of the Tribal Settlement Schemes (Upadhyaya : 1967), Tribal Education (Ambast : 1967), Inter-Tribal Interactions (Saleshwar Prasad : 1967), Tribal Leadership (Vidyarthi & Sahay : 1978) etc. However, the problem-oriented studies in Bihar were accelerated when the Department of Anthropology, Ranchi University, Ranchi, got four large-scale research projects, one after another, which brought into light many

1. Dr. M. Jha is presently the Director of a major research project on *The Sacred Complex of Kathmandu*, sponsored by the Indian Council of Social Science Research, New Delhi. Earlier he also Directed a research project on "Village Nepal" (1982–84), sponsored by the University Grants Commission, New Delhi. In 1983, Dr. Jha also got a chance to conduct field work in Thailand.
2. The U. G. C. has recently sanctioned a major research project under the Directorship of Dr. M. Jha which will be taken up shortly.

facets of culture change among the Munda and Oraon (Sachchidanand : 1964); emergence of Ranchi as an urban centre from tribal base (Vidyarthi[1] : 1969), and examined the impact of urbanisation on tribal culture in particular; longitudinal study of the emergence of Heavy Engineering Corporation (H. E. C.) in the tribal belt of Chotanagpur (Vidyarthi[2] : 1970), which highlighted the patterns of socio-economic changes that have occurred in this region owing to this large scale industrialisation. And the fourth (Vidyarthi & Sahaya : 1978) report brought into light the changing pattern of tribal leadership in Chotangpur. In this study the authors also tested certain hyphotheses in course of studying the dynamics of tribal leadership in Chotanagpur, which led to several meaningful conclusions, some of which are quoted below :

1. The leadership pattern of an isolated tribal community is relatively less crystallized and integrated with the region pattern than that of the tribal communities which have been exposed to external influence and awareness.
2. The tribal leaders are sticking to the old ideas, values and institutions persistently for operating in a traditional social structure and their authority pattern is declining with the process of modernisation.
3. Only a small proportion of the tribal leaders have responded to change favourably.
4. The traditional leaders who have accepted modernity, provide a link between the old and the new pattern of institutions, values and leadership.
5. Leaders coming from urban and its adjacent areas are younger, and those coming from isolated areas are elderly heads of kin and clan groups.

1. See Professor Vidyarthi's book—*Cultural Configuration of Ranchi;* J. N. Basu & Co; Calcutta, 1969.
2. See Professor Vidyarthi's book-*Impact of Industrialisation in India;* Research Programmes Committee, Planning Commission, New Delhi, 1978.

6. In the isolated areas the alignment of two or more kin or villages dominate and control the political parties, whereas in the urban and adjacent areas these alignments are less dominant.

These conclusions, arrived at in the study of tribal leadership in Chotanagpur more than a decade ago, are still relevant. However, the institutional leaders and the persuasive personalities have been replaced by the agitators.

In addition to these anthropological works, the indigenous dietary pattern of the people of Bihar (Vidyarthi : 1980), the cultural linguistic zone survey of the four linguistic zones of Bihar, sponsored by the Anthropological Survey of India, Government of India, (1975-76) etc., were also completed by the Department of Anthropology, Ranchi University, Ranchi to understand the cultural continuity and diversity among the people of Bihar.

The establishment of Tribal Welfare Research Institute in 1954 at Ranchi further accelerated the progress of anthropological work in Chotanagpur. The Institute has undertaken some welfare orinted resarch and, in addition to several Bulletins, it has also published a few books and among them special mention may be made of the "Land and People of Tribal Bihar" (edited by N. Prasad: 1964), "Life and Times of Birsa Bhagwan" (Sinha: 1964) etc. The Institute has also published a report on "Land Alienation" (Sinha: 1968) in Chotanagpur which is useful from the point of view of applied anthropology. However, the Institute has not progressed well, as it was expected to do, because of many bottlenecks prevailing in the Government offices.

Some administrators and Census Superintendents, though not anthropologically trained, have also brought out some publications like– "The Study of Asur" (Leuva: 1963). "Dust-Storm and Hanging Mist" (Singh: 1966) etc on the tribes of Bihar.

The A. N. Sinha Institute of Sciences, though located at Patna, has also undertaken a few research projects on the tribal studies in Chotanag-

pur, besides other sociological works, which I do not elaborate here because of space limitation.

Finally, I may conclude that the anthropological studies in Bihar, since the days of S. C. Roy and specially after India's independence, have made significant progress from the point of view of both basic ethnographic descriptions and analytical interpretations. Still, I feel, there are many urgent tasks ahead which need the attention of anthropologists and cultural historians to record and evaluate the vanishing cultural traits possessed by the indigenous societies in Bihar. Such anthropological studies, as a matter of fact, now require inter-disciplinary team to unfold the channels of cultural integration for strengthening the national solidarity.

Reader in Anthropology
U. G. C. Centre of Advanced Study
Department of Anthropology
Ranchi University, Ranchi

Numismatic Studies in Bihar

DR. UPENDRA THAKUR

I

The beginning of the numismatics in India can be traced to the establishment of the Asiatic Society in Bengal in A. D. 1784 whose contribution in this field is unique because of the discovery and publication of periodicals and journals which in the long run popularised the study of numismatics all over the country. It was James Prinsep, the founder of the Asiatic Society in Calcutta, who made the sensational study of the Indo-Bactrian coins along with Charles Masson,[1] and also "coined the now popular name *Punch-marked* for the earliest Indian Coinage".[2] The first notice of numismatic research in India was made in the Society's periodical, *Asiatic Researches*[3] which recorded the discovery of Roman coins and medals in this country. Later the Society published sixteen numismatic supplements (incorporated in the *Asiatic Society Journal*) which were of great importance as they contained valuable papers on the coins found in different parts of India belonging to different periods of Indian history.[4] With the establishment of the Numismatic Society of India in A. D. 1910, however, the study of numismatics gathered momentum and new discoveries came to be made and published in different issues of its Journal (*JNSI*) which provided tremendous impetus to the young researchers in the field.

Treatises on Indian numismatics published by scholars from Bihar are few and far between. The first to be mentioned in this connection

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1. *Society's Journal*, Vol. II, pp. 27 ff, 405 ff; Vol. V, pp. 1 ff; Vol. IV, p. 627.
2. D. C. Sircar, *Numismatic and Epigraphical Studies*, p. 1.
3. Vol. II, 1790.
4. D. C. Sircar, *Op. cit.*, p. 2.

is Upendra Thakur's *Mints and Minting in India* published by Chowkhambha Sanskrit Series Office, Varanasi, 1972, 192 pages with six plates. Though this study is intended to be a rough frame-work within which the problems raised here can be studied in greater detail by future researchers in the field, it has thrown refreshing light on the much vexed problem of barter and exchange, the first coins, the State and the coinage, symbols versus mint towns and economic data from early Indian coins. Besides, this, he has also published many papers on numismatics in the *JNSI, INC*, *East and West* (Rome), *JESHO* (Leiden) and other reputed journals of India and abroad. He was also the General-Secretary of the Numismatic Society of India for six years and Editor of the Journal for three years. He also presided over the Annual Conference of the *NSI* in Ujjain in 1982 and was awarded the Akbar Silver Medal of the *NSI* for his contribution to Indian numismatics.

Another treatise on early Indian coins published recently may be mentioned here. M. K. Sharan's monograph *Studies in Tribal Coins* (with special reference to the Yaudhayas, the Mālavas, the Audambaras and the Kunindas), a Ph. D. thesis approved by the Magadh University and published by the Abhinav Publications, New Delhi, presents a comprehensive picture of the political and cultural life of the people of the four tribal republican states who played a very significant role in the history of India. P. C. Roy's *The Coinage of Northern India* (a Ph. D. thesis of the Magadh University published by the Abhinav Publications, New Delhi, in 1980) is yet another contribution which discusses for the first time various types of coinages issued by different Rajput dynasties of early-medieval period (11th-13th cent. A. D.) such as the Kalacurīs, the Candellas, the Paramāras, the Gāhaḍavālas, the Cālukyas, the Pratihāras, the Cāhamānas, etc. While Roy has made a systematic study of the newly discovered coins along with the coins noticed earlier, he has also taken particular care to physically re-examine those coins, type-wise and has succeeded in correcting the errors committed by the earlier writers on the subject. Yet another monograph written by Binod Kumar Sinha, entitled, *Deities on Early Indian Coins* (a Ph. D. thesis approved by the Magadh University in 1986) enumerates the importance of Brāhmaṇic,

Buddhist, Greek and Persian deities on the various types of coins issued by the kings of different dynasties as well as their cultural and religious significance in the given text.

Om Prakash Singh's monograph, *A Cultural Study of the Early Coins of India* (a Ph. D. thesis approved by the Magadh University in 1975) portrays for the first time a comprehensive picture of the cultural life as gleaned from the early coins of India. Scholars have no doubt dealt with some aspects of the subject but none has given a comprehensive and up-to-date picture of cultural life based exclusively on the coins. This work meets the gap to a considerable extent. The monograph of S. P. Singh, *Discovery of Ancient Coins in Bihar* (a Ph. D. thesis approved by the University of Calcutta in 1969) takes, for the first time, into account the discovery of different hoardes of punch-marked coins and other coins in Bihar and discusses their bearing on the political and cultural history of India in general and that of Bihar in particular. Besides this, he has also published papers on Indian numismatics in different journals of the country.

Two more names stand out prominently as regards the study of early Indian coins in Bihar—S. V. Sohoni and R. K. Choudhary. Sohoni edited the *Journal of the Bihar Research Society (JBRS)* for nearly ten years and was the founder-editor of the *Indian Numismatic Chronicle* (*INC*)—a journal devoted to the study of old coins and seals, besides other aspects of numismatic studies and published by the Bihar Research Society, Patna. Moreover, he has published more than fifty research papers of high standard of different aspects of Indian numismatics in the *JNSI* and the *INC*. Sohoni also presided over the Annual Conferences of the Numismatic Society of India twice. R. K. Choudhary took over the editing of the *INC* from Sohoni when the latter left for Poona after retirement. He published over a dozen excellent papers in the *JNSI* and the *INC*, but his untimely death marked the end of a brilliant scholarly career.

Q Ahmad's papers on Mughal and Later Mughal coins and seals published in different volumes of the *JNSI* and the *INC* are remarkable as they bear the stamp of his originality. Similarly, Hasan Nishat Ansari's

study of medieval coins discovered or struck in Bihar and published in different journals and monographs is significant as regards the currency system and economic condition during the period.

As the study of numismatics is not so popular in Bihar as compared to Calcutta, Vārāṇasī and a few other places, it should be our endeavour to raise the standard with hard work and popularise the studies of numismatics to the best of our ability.

II

The revolution of currency was one of the significant revolutions in the history of mankind that changed the face of the economic world, though it was a slow and long process. This evolution passed through different stages which in turn mark the different interesting phases of the evolution of human civilization. The origin of this story is to be traced to the steady growth and development of the method of exchange on which the entire economy of the primitive man depended.[5] Scholars generally believe that the method of exchange of the primitive man was virtually confined to barter which most probably arose from the practice of "mutual propitiation of gifts" and gradually the idea that "the present received would be of like worth with that given" was established and the exchanged articles in the course of time lost "the character of presents".[6]

The birth of metallic currency in India was followed by regular issue of coinage in different parts of the country. We should, however, remember that true coins in the modern sense are not mentioned in any Indian work, certainly pre-Buddhistic, but 'circulating money-weights were in use long before',[7] and this story of the first coins in India is as interesting as that of barter and exchange. From the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* we get some important data about the oldest coinage of India. Further it has

5. Upendra Thakur, *Mints and Minting in India*, p. 3.
6. Spencer, *The Principles of Sociology*, pp. 99-100.
7. Rhys Davids, *Numismata Orientalia : Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon*, p. 3.

been suggested that as early as the *Ṛgveda* traces are seen of the use of *niṣka* as a short of currency for "a singer celebrates the receipt of a hundred *niṣkas* and a hundred steeds : he could hardly require the *niṣkas* merely for purposes of personal adornment. Later the use of *niṣka* as currency is quite clear".[8] The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* also refers to a *niṣka* of gold[9] while the *Jātakas* mention *niṣka* as a gold coin.[10] Pāṇini also refers to gold *niṣka* in three *sūtras*.[11]

Niṣka had probably its sub-multiples too. D. R. Bhandarkar believes that even the *pāda* coin was one of the sub-multiples of the *niṣka* (gold) coin, and it is on this analogy that he further suggests that the twenty thousand *pādas* offered by King Janaka of Mithilā to the most learned Brāhmaṇa were gold coins of this category,[12] which is probably indirectly suggested by Pāṇini in his *sūtra* : *Paṇa-pāda-māṣa-śatādyat.*[13] While it is likely that the *pādas* given by Janaka might have been gold pieces, it is difficult, to accept that the *pāda* referred to in Pāṇini's *sūtra* constituted a token coin of the gold *niṣka*. As *pāda* has been mentioned along with *paṇa*, it may be suggested that the former is related to the silver *Kārṣāpaṇa* in which series it is mentioned by Kauṭilya also.[14] On the other hand, Patañjali refers to *pāda* as a sub-multiple of gold-*niṣka* which is clear from the expressions, *panniṣka* and *pādaniṣka*.[15]

A careful study of Vedic literature would show that during the Vedic period *niṣka*, *hiraṇya*, *śatamāṇa*, *pāda* and *suvarṇa* were the different denominations of gold, silver and copper coinage current in Bihar and

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8. *Vedic Index*, Vol I, p. 456.
9. *Śatapatha Brā*. xi. 4. 1.8.
10. *AIN*, p. 48.
11. *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, V. I. 20; V. 1. 30; V. 2. 119. For other details see Upendra Thakur, *Mints and Minting in India*, pp. 23-26.
12. *Ancient Indian Numismatics* (*AIN*), p. 60; For details see Upendra Thakur, *History of Mithilā*, pp. 85-86.
13. *Aṣṭ* V. 1.34.
14. *Arthaśāstra*; ii. 12.
15. *Sūtra*, vi. 3.56; iii. 163.

other parts of the country and their significance in the history of the evolution of Indian coinage is unique. But their place in the field of commerce cannot be ascertained with certainty. The most interesting aspect of these coins is that they are hardly referred to in the context of commerce.[16] Wherever they are mentioned they have the character of sacrificial fee or gift, and very often, as reward for religious, social and academic accomplishments. The metal pieces had no doubt socio-economic significance as they were mostly gifts from the kings which naturally placed people's confidence in their intrinsic value.[17] In the post-Vedic period, however, some of these forms of metallic money such as *niṣka* and *suvarṇa* became the popular media of exchange which is evident from the mention of these metallic pieces in commercial contexts in the *Jātakas*.[18] Pāṇini's reference to *niṣka, suvarṇa, māṣaka* and *śatamāṇa* shows that people by this time had adopted gold and silver money as medium of exchange for highly priced commodities. In ordinary commercial transactions, however, copper pieces also came to be used as money.[19]

III

There is difference of opinion over the question of authority responsible for the issue of coinage in ancient India. We believe that there is positive evidence to show that all the punch-marked coins were not issued by the State and some of these were certainly issued by the guilds and *janapadas* with definite marks of their own. It is true, during the Nanda-Maurya epoc it was the State which was mainly responsible for the minting and circulation of coins but it is quite doubtful whether the State had evolved the same system of minting and circulation of coins in the pre-Nanda times as envisaged in Kauṭilyas *Arthaśāstra*.[20]

As regards the copper and silver punch-marked coins they have been found in a large number from different parts of Bihar, mainly from

16. *JNSI*, XV. p. 17.
17. U. Thakur, *Mints*, p. 36.
18. *Jātaka*, iv, pp. 97, 460; v. 164; vi, pp. 69, 186.
19. U. Thakur, *Mints*, p. 36 ff.
20. For other details see *Ibid*., p. 52 ff.

N. B. P. sites, and we have not yet come across any pre–N. B. P. coin from Bihar so far Literary and archaeological evidences suggest that *Kārṣāpaṇa* and its various fractions were current in Bihar in the 5th century B. C. as is evident from Pāṇini's reference (c. 500 B. C.) to it and many other denominations such as *śāna, māṣa, viṁśatika, triṁśatika* etc. Besides the above, we have many other instances to show that *Kārṣāpaṇa* was widely current in Bihar during this period.[21] *Viṁśatika* is said to have been the indigenous silver coin of Magadha which weighed 20 *māśas*[22] whereas *triṁśatika* weight 58 *raktikas* (or *rattis*).[23] Specimens of *viṃśatika* which were found from Rajgir are now preserved in the Lucknow Museum.[24] The silver punch-marked coins weighing 58 *rattis* found by Durga Prasad in Bihar[25] are probably the specimens of *triṁśatikas*, referred to above. Some numismatists, for instance, P. L. Gupta, believe that the Punch-marked coins were State-issues, but, we have no evidence to show that they actually constituted a standard currency and token coins which were used and regulated by the State a fact which has been very convincingly refuted by D. C. Sircar.[26]

It was with the establishment of the Mauryan empire that the centre of economic activities shifted from private hands and corporate bodies to the royal organisation which was formed to put an end to this haphazard state and stabilise the unwieldy structure of currency by bringing in uniformity in respect of weights and measures. From this time onward currency became a state-monopoly and gradually came under the most rigid control of the Governments that came to rule in successive

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21. For details see, *Bihar : Past and Present*, pp. 97-98. Also Cf. *MV.* VIII, 1; *Jātaka*, II. pp. 47, 278; IV. 38; V. 128; *Vinayapiṭaka*, VIII. 11; *JNSI*. XX. pt. II, p. 112 f.
22. Pāṇini. IV. 1.27; V. 1.32; D. R. Bhandarkar, *Ancient Indian Numismatics* p. 111; V. S. Agrawal, *India as Known to Pāṇini*, pp. 269-70.
23. Pāṇini, V. 1.24; *Journal of the U. P. Historical Society*, July, 1939, p. 23.
24. V. S. Agrawal, *Op. cit.*, p. 271.
25. *JVPHS*, July, 1939, p. 33.
26. For details Sircar, *Op. cit.*, p. 13 ff.

periods. Thus, it is for the first time in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* that we come across definite regulations regarding the minting of the coinage in Pāṭaliputra which was now a sole concern of the State. The references to the *Lakṣaṇādhyakṣa* (mint-master), *Rūpadarśaka*, *Kośapraveśya* (legal tenders), *Vyāvahārika* etc. point to the control of the State over currency of all kinds. The legal tenders known as *Kośapraveśya* were issued in the royal mint and *Vyāvahārika* were in general use but could not be stored in the royal treasury. The statement of Kauṭilya clearly shows that the practice of minting coins among the guilds or the private citizens was still recognised, though now under State supervision and in the royal mint at Pāṭaliputra in accordance with State regulations which demanded a part of their billion as levy charges.[27]

There is now general agreement among the scholars that the punch-marked coins bearing three-arched symbol with a crescent on its top, on the base of the sand-stone polished pillar of the hall of Candragupta Maurya discovered in Kumrahāra (Patna)[28] and also noticed on the Sahgaurā copper-plate[29], known as *Rājāñka* or *Meru* symbol were the issues of Candragupta Maurya. The chemical analysis of the coin also tallies with the description of the one given by Kauṭilya in his *Arthaśāstra*.[30] Besides, the all India find of this particular type of coins lends further support to this theory.[31]

In recent years many hoards and finds of silver punch-marked coins bearing five symbols on the obverse have been reported from many places in Bihar such as Gorhoghat, Golakhpur, Machuatoli, Ramana, Lohanipur, Kumrahāra, Marer, Mayagunj (Bhagalpur), Borgaon, Rajgir, Bodhgaya, Bhelaver, Dharawat, Sonepur, Nālandā, Vaiśālī, Taregana, Birpur (Vaiśālī), Chakramdas, Chaibasa, Bhabua, Supaul, Motihari,

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27. Fot details see, U. Thakur *Op. cit.*, p. 61. ff.
28. Spooner, "Excavations at Pāṭaliputra" in *ASR*, 1912-13, pp. 53-83, pl. XLIX.
29. *JASB*, 1894, p. 84; Altekar, *Report on Kumarhāra Excavations.*
30. Durga Prasad, *JASB*, *NS*, No. xiv, p. 40 ff; *NS* No xlvii, 1957, p. 54 ff.
31. Cf. Buddhaghoṣa's Note on *Rūpasūtra.* Also cf. *Upakkileśa. An.* iii, 61; *Sn.* V. 92.

Nandangarh, Bahera, Monghyr, Patna City, Gaya, Chirand, Chuhar, Buxar and many other places which have been fully enumerated by S. P. Singh.[32] It is interesting to note that a large number of such coins are also lying preserved in some of the private museums and collections such as Bhāratīya Nṛtya Kalā Mandir, Patna; Bhāratīya Kalā Bhavana, Gaya; Svāmī Sahajānanda Sarasvatī Museum, Jehanabad; Patna University Museum (Deptt. of AIHA), Patna; Magadh University Museum (Deptt. of AIAS), Bodhgaya and the G. D. College Museum, Begusarai, besides the State Museums at Patna, Gaya, Buxar, Darbhanga, Muzaffarpur and Bhagalpur which also possess a fairly good number of silver punch-marked coins.[33] The most interesting of these coins is a full *Kārṣāpana* which bears a single mark of six-armed symbol constituted by a circle having a dot within it and three ovals and the same number of taurines arranged alternately around it[34], but its find-spot is not known. The coins bearing five symbols are now generally ascribed to the Nandas and the Mauryas though we have no solid evidence to support it.

The punch-marked coins found in Bihar have been classified into two categories—local and imperial—by some numismatists. According to them, coins belonging to the first category were issued during 8th-6th century B. C. *i. e.*, before the rise of the Magadhan empire. The coins of the Golakhpur hoard are supposed to be the earliest in the local series which were probably current in Bihar before the issue of the imperial coinage.[35] The most remarkable feature of these coins is the grouping of symbols on the obverse which we do not come across on the coins of other hoards found in Bihar or anywhere else. Durga Prasad believed that these coins belonged to the Śaiśunāga period, probably of the time of Udayi-bhadra, son of Ajātaśatru. Though it is very difficult to ascertain the exact period of the circulation of these coins for want of of positive historical data, it seems however possible that they were

32. Bihar : *Past and Present*, pp. 101-102.
33. For other details see *Ibid.*, pp. 102-103.
34. This coin is in private collection of Sri Mathura Mohan Chakravarty of Gaya.
35. D. C. Sircar, *Op. cit.*, pp. 11-13.

minted at Pāṭaliputra and their circulation was confined to a limited area of Magadha. Walsh, who first of all studied and published this hoard, suggested that these coins were in circulation prior to Aśoka's advent on the political scene.

The classification of the so-called Imperial coinage of Magadha into different periods and their attribution to the Bimbisārian, Śaiśunāga, Nanda and Mauryan dynasties as to different kings such as Candragupta, Aśoka and Daśaratha have created more confusion and complications as suggested by D. C. Sircar and others,[36] because it is extremely difficult to arrange them in chronological order and attribute certain types to the kings referred to above.[37] But, the discovery of the silver punch-marked coins in the course of excavations at Kumrahāra, Vaiśālī, Rajgir, Chirand and Sonepur is very significant which gives an idea of the circulation of the coins in different periods. A study of the stratigraphic sequence at the Kumrahāra leaves us in no doubt that prior to c. 150 B. C. the silver punch-marked coins were not popular in Pāṭaliputra though the copper punch-marked and cast coins were quite common.[38] In other words the silver punch-marked coins were current in Pāṭaliputra from c. 150 B. C. to the early Kuṣāṇa age.[39] The silver punch-marked coins found in pre-defence deposit at New Rajgir have been assigned to the 5th century B. C.,[40] whereas Krishna Deva, on the basis of carbon 14 tests of the sample of charcoal, found from the same layer, suggests that the coins should be placed between 264-261 B. C.[41] He further suggests that the coins were in circulation in Aśokas time, their upper chronological limit being 370 B. C. and the lower 155 B. C. *i. e.*, the dates much earlier and long after Aśokas rule.[42] Thus, the analysis

36. For other details, see *Bihar : Past and Present*, pp. 103-04.
37. Altekar & Mishra, *Repr. Kumrahāra Excavations*, 1951-55, p. 88. ff.
38. S. P. Singh, *Op. cit.*, p. 104.
39. *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1961-62, p. 10 ff.
40. *Indian Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. III, pt. II; Vol. IV, pt. I, p. 139.
41. *Ibid.*
42. U. Thakur, *JNSI* (Golden Jubilee Vol.), XXIII, 1964, p. 180.

of the various hoards of the so-called imperial punch-marked coins would seem to indicate that in the time of Aśoka there was probably one central mint at Pāṭaliputra, besides three other mints at Ujjayinī, Takṣaśilā and Kaliṅga.[43]

The stratigraphic evidence clearly show that it was during the N. B. P. period (c. 600-150 B. C.) that the silver punch-marked coins originated in Bihar which continued in circulation up to the Kuṣāṇa period. The number of copper punch-marked coins found in Bihar so far is much less compared the silver punch-marked and cast copper coins. Like the silver and copper punch-marked coins, uninscribed cast copper coins bearing many denominations have been found at various ancient sites in Bihar such as Kumrahāra, Rajgir, Maner, Chirand, Basarh, Nandangarh and Sonepur.[44] Moreover, the chronological sequence of the find-spots of the cast copper coins shows that they were current during the Maurya, Śuṅga and Kuṣāṇa periods side by side with the silver and copper punch-marked coins in Bihar. A few of them survived in the Gupta age also.

With the fall of the Mauryan empire and in the absence of a central authority, coinage-system was thoroughly upset and uniformity could not be introduced for long. The Śuṅgas and the Sātavāhanas remained confined to the different parts of the country. The republican and tribal states had their own independent coinage. But, the gold coins of the Kuṣāṇas gave a new lease of life to the indigenous coinage and by the first century A. D. the science was placed on a firm footing.[45] The growing international trade and commerce necessitated authoritative royal currency to facilitate transactions with foreign merchants and traders. As a result of this new demand, the State now assumed complete control of currency denying the erstwhile privilege to private citizens and guilds.

43. For details, S. P. Singh, *Op. cit.*, p. 106.

44. U. Thakur, "Further observations on Mints in Ancient India" in *INC*, Vol. III, pt. I, pp. 76-77 and *Mints and Minting in India*, p. 69.

45. For details see *ARASI*, 1924-25 p. 144. *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1859-60, p. 65; *ARASI*, Vol. XXI, p. 47 ff; *JASB*, Vol. LIII, 1884, p. 153 ff; *INC*, Vol. II, pt. I, pl. II.

The gold, copper and imitation coins (Puri or Oriya) coins of the Kuṣāṇas have been found from many places in Bihar such as Kumrahāra, Basarh (Vaiśālī), Buxar, Nandanagarh, Sultanganj, Monghyr, Utara (Darbhanga), Belvadag and Karrathaua (Ranchi), Rakhahills, Chirand etc. which clearly shows that the Kuṣāṇa rule was well established in Bihar during this period.

As Pāṭaliputra was the capital-seat of the Gupta rulers it is but natural to expect the discovery of Gupta coins in Bihar, in all the metals—gold, silver and copper.[46] It is interesting to note in this connection that Nālandā, besides, Pāṭaliputra, formed one of the principal mint-towns of the Guptas-imperial as well as the Later Guptas. In recent excavation at Nalanda three dark grey terracotta moulds of Gupta coins belonging to three different sets were discovered. Of these one is a reverse of Jayagupta, a later Gupta king (c. 625-765 A. D.). The other mould is of a coin of Narasiṁhagupta (500-550 A. D.) and the third mould is of a gold coin of Narasiṁhagupta (obverse).[47] According to G. C. Chandra, "the gold coin of Narasiṁha (3/4" diam.) exactly fits in with the clay-mould now discovered".[48] Besides these, a silver coin belonging to Pratihāra king Bhoja I[49] and a few gold coins of Śaśāṅka have been found at Nālandā[50] and Gaya.[51] These coins along with the Rohtasgarh seal matrix clearly demonstrate that Śaśāṅka was ruling over a major portion of South Bihar.

Many stray finds have also been reported from different parts of Bihar. Some Kashmirian coins (king and goddess type) bearing the legend *Śrī-Pratāpa* have been found at Patna[52] and Monghyr,[53] three

46. Upendra Thakur, *Mints...*, pp. 133-34 & *JNSI*, 1961, pp. 185-87.
47. G. C. Chandra, "Excavations at Nālandā", *ASI Rep*, 1935-36, p. 52.
48. *ARASI*, Eastern Circle, 1919-20, p. 48.
49. *Ibid*, 1924-25, p. 136.
50. *JBRS*, Vol. XXXV, pts. III-IV, p. 111 ff.
51. *ARASI*, 1919-20, p. 48; *JNSI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 104.
52. *Indian Arch.—A Review*, 1954-55, p. 61.
53. For details see U. Thakur, *History of Mithilā*, Chap. V.

coins at Nalanda, a coin of Pratāpāditya (in Monghyr), coins of Kalacurī King Gāṅgeyadeva (Dumri, Saran district) marking his conquest of Tirhut or Tīrabhukti (North Bihar),[54] a class of silver and debased silver coins bearing *Śri-vi* or *Śṅ-Vigra* (or *Śri-Vigrah)* have been found all over Bihar. Similarly coins of Govindacandra Gāhaḍavāla of Kanauja have been found in Banpokhra (Monghyr), Nālandā and Rajgir and other places.[55]

From a study of the Pāla inscriptions we learn that though minted coins were quite abundant in the early days of the Pāla empire monetary transactions were often carried in cowrie-shells in the age of the Later Pālas, corresponding to the Sena period. The Bodhgaya (Bihar) stone inscription (A. D. 800) of Dharmapāla (c. 775-812 A. D.) refers to the excavation of a tank by spending three thousand *drammas.*[56] Similarly, the Bhaturiya (Rajshahi district, Bangladesh) stone inscription of Rājyapāla (c. 917-52 A. D.) mentions that the King dedicated the village of Madhu-sravā in favour of the God, Vṛṣabhadhvaja (Śiva) installed by his minister Yaśodatta after having fixed the *nikara* (concessional tax) at one hundred *Purāṇas* annually.[57] The Gaya inscription (1175 A. D.) which mentions the name of Govindapāla also saya that a Brāhmaṇa named Vidyādhara "created an endownment by depositing in the Gadādhara temple 50 *Kārṣāpaṇas* at an annual interest of 32 percent for making provision for feeding Brāhmaṇas at the temple on Āśvina sudi 5 every year".[58]

The early-medieval *dramma* of a literary record of Western India and the late medieval *Kāhana (Kahāra* or *Kārṣāpaṇa*) of Eastern India and "another early medieval author calling apparently the same coin both *Purāṇa* and *Kārṣāpaṇa,* are of all them represented as equal to 1280 cowrie-shells".[59] The most interesting point to take note of is that the same

54. *ARASI*, 1912-13, pt. I, p. 13; 1916-17, pt. II; 1917-18, App. E; *EI*. Vol. XXVIII, pp. 137-45.

55. Maitreya, *Gauḍalekhamālā*, p. 29 ff, lines 5-6; D. C. Sircar, *Op. cit.*, p. 51.

56. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXXIII, p. 154, line 16; D. C. Sircar, *Op. cit.*, p. 51.

57. *Ep. Ind.* Vol XXXV, p. 336; D. C. Sircar, *Op. cit.*, p. 51.

58. D. C. Sircar, *Op. cit.*, p. 52.

59. D. D. Sircar, *Op. cit.*, p. 52.

standard coin is mentioned as *Dramma* in the Bodhgaya inscription and as *Purāṇa* in the Bhaturiya epigraph, both coming from the Pāla empire of Bihar-Bengal region of the early-medieval period. And, again in the later Pāla record from Gaya this coin is called *Kārṣāpaṇa*.[60] As rightly pointed out by D. C. Sircar it is difficult to believe that "in that age and area which were not characterised by an abundance of minted coins, there should have been several standard coins in the same metal and in some cases stated to be of the same value in cowrie-shells".[61] Siṁhatilakasūri's commentary (14th cent. A. D.) on Śrīpati's *Gaṇitatilaka* (10th-11th cent.), according to which 16 *Paṇas*=1 *Dramma* also called *Purāṇa* in the *Triśati* also supports the identity of *Dramma* and Purāṇa.[62] The Gaya inscription of A. D. 1175, noted above, mentions the currency of *Kārṣāpaṇa* even though its date falls within the Sena age, "actually in the reign of Battālasena (c. 1159-79 A. D.) when the cowrie-shell was generally used in monetary transactions. It is therefore, interesting to note an endorsement to the main document in this case, which is engraved in one line in the left margin along the border of the inscription".[63]

In the *Dhanadaṇḍasaṁkhyā* section of the *Daṇḍaviveka*, Vardhamāna Upādhyāya, who flourished in Mithilā (North Bihar) in the latter half of the fifteenth and the early part of the sixteenth century[64], refers to a number of early Indian coins such as *niṣka, rūpaka, pala, dīnāra, Kākanī, māśa, ukṣa* or *akṣakā, dharaṇa, paṇa*, and *Kārṣāpaṇā*.[65]

IV

Coming to the medieval age we find that Bihar and Tirhut were separate political entities which were physically and politically divided by

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60. *Ibid.*, p. 52.
61. Edited by H. R. Kapadia, Baroda, 1937, pp. 39, 103.
62. D. C. Sircar, *Op. cit.*, p. 53.
63. Edited by Mm. Kamalakrishna Smṛtitīrtha in Gaekwad Oriental Series, Vol. LII, 1931, Eng. Tr. published by the Asiatic Society, Calcutta.
64. For detailed enumeration of these coins, see D. C. Sircar, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-40.
65. U. Thakur, *JNSI* (Golden J. Vol), Vol. XXIII, 1961, p. 193.

the Gaṅgā. According to Abul Fazl (*Āin-i-Akbarī*), these two states— Tirhut to the north of the Gaṅgā and Bihar to the south were constituted into one single province in the time of Emperor Akbar (1580 A. D.).

The muslim rulers were not content with issuing coins from their headquarters and the conquered territories; they also possessed mobile mints which moved along with their armies, or with the camp of the kings and issued coins if and when the occasions arose.[66] Thus, we have a long list of mints from the coins as well as from the literary sources which functioned during the Muslim period. They may be distinguished by their nature as belonging to four categories—(i) regular official mints, at the central towns of the kingdoms or provinces, (ii) temporary mints issuing *sikkā* on the eve of an occupation or conquest, (iii) mobile mints of the army and (iv) the royal camp mints.[67] It appears that the mints of the second category were not a different unit from the mobile mints of third and fourth categories, but unfortunately no attempt has been made to distinguish them properly.

We are told on the authority of Ferishtah, that Bhakhtiyār Khālji, the conqueror of Bihar and Bengal in the beginning of the thirteenth century, was the first Muslim ruler to have struck coins in Bihar, but there is absolutely no evidence to support this contention as not a single specimen of his coins has so far been discovered in Bihar. Moreover, neither the coins belonging to the successors of Baktiyār before A. D. 1358 nor to any other Sultan prior to A. D. 1329 minted in Bihar have been found.[68] The discovery of the Rasulpur coin-hoard at village Rasulpur in Begusarai in 1966 containing 1586 billon coins belonging to Sultan Alauddin Masud Shah (A. D. 1242-46) and Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud (A. D. 1246-66) is important as it throws new light on the history of Mithilā (Tirhut or North Bihar), demonstrating Turkish control over the areas of North Bihar including Begusarai.

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66. *Ibid.*, p. 193 ff.

67. *Bihar : Past and Present*, p. 111.

68. U. Thakur, *History of Mithilā*, pp. 276-77.

A silver coin of Sultan Alauddin Khālji was reported from Jayamanglagarh (Begusarai in North Bihar), but the year and mint are not at all clear on the coin. It however, indirectly confirms the contention of Mulla Taqia that Tirhut was invaded by the Khālji army in the time of Alauddin Khālji which ultimately resulted in the defeat of Śaktisiṁha the Karṇāṭa King of Mithilā (A. D. 1275-1303). But the ancestral kingdom was later restored to Śaktisiṁha who agreed to owe allegiance to the Sultan.[69] Moreover, the discovery of twelve silver coins belonging to Sultan Jalāluddin Khālji and Sultan Alāuddin Khālji at village Shahpur (Bhojpur District), ranging between A. D. 1295 and 1315 shows that Jālaluddin Khālji had succeeded in occupying the north-western portion of Bihar south of the Gaṅgā.[70]

The discovery of a gold coin of Sultan Muhammad Bin Tughluq near Sasaram (Rohtas district) points to the probable extention of Tughluq dominion over the area. In this connection it is interesting to note that like Nālandā in early periods, Tughlaqpur 'urf Terhut was the earliest mint-town of medieval Bihar established by Muhammad Tughlaq. K. R. Qanungo, however, suggests that this mint-town was set up in the time of Ghiyāsuddin Tughlaq Shah (1325 A. D) immediately after his conquest of Tirhut and its consequent annexation to his empire.[71] On a copper coin (A. H. 731 = A. D. 1330-31) as well as a gold coin (A. H. 735 = A. D. 1334-35) we come across the legend "*Iqlim Tughlaqpur 'urf Tirhut* (Province of Tughlaqpur *alias* Tirhut; an appellation given to the town of Darbhanga). Muhammad Tughlaq was the first Muslim ruler to have struck gold coins in Bihar, which are among the rare class weighing 168.8 grains. A silver coin of this king found at Jayamanglagarh (Begusarai) and a hoard containing 2384 copper coins found in Vikramapur village in Begusarai clearly demonstrates his domination over the areas of Tirhut up to Begusarai.[72] Patna *(Shahr-i-Patna)* was yet another mint in Bihar from where Fath

69. *Bihar : Past and Present*, p. 113.

70. J. N. Sarkar, *History of Bengal*. Vol. II. Patna, 1973, p. 84.

71. *Bihar : Past and Present*, p. 115.

72. U. Thakur, *JNSI*, Vol. XIX, pt. II, p. 201.

Khan, the eldest son and heir-apparent of Firoz Shah Tughlaq issued gold coins (1359 A. D.). This is the only instance of a mint in Patna in pre-Mughal times.

The Sharqi rulers of Jaunpur also exercised political control over Bihar due to the weak rule of Nasiruddin Mahmud Shah Tughlaq (A. D. 1412) as is evident from literary and epigraphic sources. This is further confirmed by the discovery of a hoard of fifty copper coins of the Sharqi rulers in village Piparbazar (Palamau), but the coins do not carry any mint-mark. Yet another coin of Ibrahim Shah was found at Begusarai (North Bihar). Another small copper coin of Husain Shah Sharqi (A. D. 1458-1505) was found in Vaisālī. These two coins from North Bihar and fifty coins from South Bihar point to Sharqi domination of Bihar which is also confirmed by the *Bavaz* of Mulla Tadia and Vidyāpati's *Kirttilatā* and the *Kīrttipatākā* which refer to Ibrahim Sharqīs activities in Bihar.

We have three gold coins of king Śivasiṁha (A. D. 1412) of the Oinavāra dynasty of Mithilā from village Pipra in Champaran. These coins bear neither date nor mint-name. A few more gold coins of Sivasiṁha were also reported from villages Nehra, Raghopur and other places in Darbhanga district.[73] As we know, Śivasiṁha had revolted against the Sultan, arrested independence; and issued gold coins to announce his independent authority over Mithilā.[74] Two silver coins of king Bhairavasiṁha of the same dynasty were also discovered recently, one of which was edited and published by R. K. Choudhary[75] and the other, now preserved in the collection of the Indian Museum, was published by D. C. Sircar. Though none of these coins bear the mint-name, there is no doubt that they were issued from Gajarathapura or Śivasiṁhapura, the capital seat of Śivasiṁha and his successors.

We have also a copper coin of Madanasiṁha of Champaran, a local ruler (A. D. 1453-58) who probably belonged to the dynasty of local

73. For details, U. Thakur, *History of Mithilā*, p. 308 ff.

74. *JNSI*, Vol. XX, pt. I, p. 55 ff.

75. *Ibid*, Vol. XX, pt. II, pp. 152-54; *EI*. Vol. XXXII, pp. 321-36.

kings who happened to rule over Gorakhpur—Champaran region in 14th-15th century.[76] Besides this, one silver coin of the Bengal ruler Haji Iliyas (A. H. 757=A. D. 1357) at Bhagalpur and eight silver coins of Bengal kings in village Kurson in Madhubani district, belonging to Sikandar Shah, Gayasuddin Azam Shah, Saifuddin Hamzah Shah and Shabuddin Bayazid Shah. All those coins, except the one belonging to Sultan Sikandar were issued from the Firozabad mint in Bengal, and the find-spots of these coins indicate the hold of the Bengal Sultans over Mithilā after the death of King Śivasiṁha.[77]

V

Patna became a very important mint during the reign of the imperial Mughals. Though Patna mint was established by Prince Fath Khan, referred to above, it operated for a very short period. According to Q. Ahmad; "no coin of the pre-Akbar period bearing Patna mint's name is known",[78] but the discovery of the Shahukhi coin of Emperor Babar (A. D. 1526-1530) bearing the mint-name, 'Patnaha' (Patna) suggests otherwise. It further shows that the Patna mint came to be re-established during the time of Babar from where about forty-seven years later Emperor Akbar (A. D. 1556-1605) issued his coins (A. D. 1575).

The Kalimah type bilingual silver coin of Sultan Sher Shah Suri (A. D. 1540-45) who established second Afghan empire in northern India was minted at Patna which bears the name 'Hazrat Rasulpur' *urf* Patna (or Hazrat Rasulpur or Patna). The coin was issued in A. H. 950=A. D. 1543 weighing 172.1 grains. It carries the legend *Kalimah* on the obverse and the names of the four caliphs in Arabic script on the margins. On the reverse we have the name of *Sher Shah* in Arabic script and *Śrī Ser Sah* in Nāgarī script. He also issued silver and copper coins from another mint 'Qila Shergarh' in the modern Rohtas district, twenty miles

76. Upendra Thakur, *History of Mithilā*, pp. 340-42.

77. For details, see *Bihar : Past and Present*, p. 119.

78. Q. Ahmad, in *Indian Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. III-IV (1964-65), p. 42 fn. 1.

south-west of Sasaram, now in ruins.[79] The silver coins were issued after his occupation of Bengal in A. D. 1538 and before the battle of Chausa (A. D. 1539). The Arabic legend on some of the copper coins issued from the Shergarh mint refer to the emperor as *Sultan-ul-Adil Sher Shah Khaldallahu Khilafatahu* and *Sultan Adil Sher Shah.*[80] It appears that the tradition of the bi-lingual coin legend in Arabic and Nāgarī scripts introduced by the earliest Turko-Muslim rulers of India was continued during the reign of Sher Shah also.[81] In this connection it is interesting to note that from the time of the Suris the number of mints swells like anything. Their coins bear the names—Shergarh, Ujjain, Agra, Panduah, Chunar, Ranthambhor, Satgaon, Sarifabad, Shergarh, Bhakkar, Shergarh Delhi, Fathabad, Kalpi, Gwalior, Malkot, Bhaupur, Hazarat Rasulpur *urf* Patna, Banaras etc.[82]

The list of the Mughal mints is much more exhaustive which, have been compiled by C. R. Singhal[83] and discussed by us elsewhere.[84] As regards their mint-towns in Bihar we can say that Akbar issued two gold coins and a silver coin in A. D. 1575 (A, H. 983) after his conquest of Bihar and Bengal from Daud Khan Kararani.[85] Other gold coins of Akbar bearing the name of the Patna mint were issued in A. D. 1576 (A. H. 984), A. D. 1577 (A. H. 985) and A. D. 1579 (A. H. 987).[86] We have another gold coin of Akbar bearing the mint-name 'Akbarnagar' which is now the modern Rajmahal in the Santhal Pargana.[87] Besides

79. John Houlton, *Bihar, The Heart of India*, p. 54; D. R. Patil, *The Antiquarian Remains in Bihar*, No. 399.

80. *Bihar : Past Present*, p. 131.

81. *Ibid.*, p. 131.

82. Wright, *The Sultans of Delhi : Their Coinage and Metrology*; U. Thakur, *JNSI* (Gol. Jub. Vol.), 1961, p. 194.

83. C. R. Singhal, *Mint-towns of the Mughal Emperors of India.*

84. U. Thakur, *Mints and Minting in India*, p. 139 ff.

85. R. B. Whitehead, *Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum*, Lahore, p. 23.

86. H. Nelson White, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, Calcutta (*CCIMC*), Vol. III, Oxford, 1908, p. 14; No. 99 p. 23, Nos. 141-42.

87. *Ibid.*, p. 20, No. 125, pl. II.

these gold coins, we have also two silver coins of Akbar (1579 A. D.= A. H. 987) and one silver coin dated 1600 A. D. which were issued from the Patna mint.[88]

Jahangir also issued silver coins dated A. D. 1605 and A. D. 1626 in the beginning of his reign from the Patna mint. He also issued heavy rupees of *Kalimah* type (first issued by Sher Shah) from the same mint.[89] In the twenty second regnal year of Jahangir silver coins were issued in the name of Nur Jahan (his queen and empress) from the Patna mint whereas silver coins were issued in the name of Jahangir from the Akbarnagar mint between his thirteenth and twentieth regnal years.[90] We have also mention of a gold coin of Jahangir from Akbarnagar mint.

In the time of Shah Jahan both the Akbarnagar and Patna mints operated. We have his silver coins from the Akbarnagar mint from the beginning of his reign (A. D. 1628) to the year 1654 (A. H. 1034) and from the Patna mint from A. D. 1628 to the end of the reign *ie*, A. D. 1658, which shows that the Patna mint was operating throughout his reign where gold coins were also issued in Shah Jahan's name from A. D. 1628 to 1650-51. Besides these silver and gold coins we have also a rare copper coin of Shah Jahan from the Patna mint the date of which is too blurred to be deciphered.[91]

During the time of Aurangzeb Alamgir (A. D. 1658-1707) the name of Patna was renamed as Azimabad, after the name of his son Prince Azimush-Lhan who was appointed Viceroy of Bihar during his time. The silver coins of Aurangzeb were issued from the Patna mint in A. D. 1660 and A. D. 1705, *ie* in the beginning and towards the close of his reign.[92] His two more silver coins issued from Azimabad mint

88. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 29, Nos. 248-49.

89. *Suppl. CCIMC*; Vol, III, p. 15, No. 140.

90. *CCIMC*. Vol. III, pp. 75-76, Nos. 644-53.

91. For details see Hasan Nishat Ansari, in *Bihar : Past and Present*, p. 123.

92. *SCCIMC*, Vol. III, pp. 113-116, Nos. 1106-1137; *Bihar : Past and Present*, p. 132, fn. 47.

bear the dates A. D. 1705 and A. D. 1706, and his single rare copper coin from his mint was issued in A. D. 1706. Aurangzeb also issued silver coins from the Akbarnagar mint during A. D. 1660-A. D. 1706. We have also one gold coin of this emperor issued from this mint in A. D. 1670-71.[93]

We have in all ten silver coins of Shah Alam I Bahadur Shah from the Azimabad mint issued between A. D. 1707-1709 (five coins), A. D. 1709-1712 (four coins) and A. D 1708 (one coin);[94] and silver coins of Farrukhsiyar dated A. D. 1713 to A. D. 1715 from the Azimabad mint. During the latter's time, however, this mint was renamed as *Azimabad Must aqirr-ul-Mulk* and many silver coins of Farrukhsiyar bearing the name of this mint came to be issued during A. D. 1713 and A. D. 1717. We have his one single specimen of silver coin which was issued in A. D. 1716 from the Akbarnagar mint.[95]

We have also silver coins of Patna (Azimabad) and Akbarnagar mints of the time of Shah Jahan II (A. D. 1719), Muhammad Shah (A. D. 1719-1748), Ahmad Shah Bahadur (A. D. 1748-1754), Aziuddin Alamgir II (A D. 1754-1759) and Ghaziuddin Shah Jahan III (A. D. 1750-1760). Besides these, we have two silver coins of Jalaluddin Muhammad Shah Alam III (A. D. 1759-1760) issued from the Munger mint in A. D. 1762 (A. H. 1176), whereas gold coins were issued in his name (between A. D. 1762-1768) from the Azimabad mint. Some silver coins were also issued in his name from this mint during A. D. 1760-1769.[96] In this connection it is interesting to note that the pre-Mughal and Sur coins issued from Bihar mints were very poor and crude in execution and shape, but the Mughal coins were superb as regards their execution, design and finis.

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93. *SCCIMC*, Vol. III, p. 76, No. 715; *CCIMC*, Vol. III, p. 146, No. 1251-52; C. J. Rodgers, *JASB*, 1895, p. 181, No. 91; *CCIMC*, Vol. III, pp. 141-44, Nos. 1199-1232 & p. 131, No. 1121.

94. *SCCIMC*, Vol. III, p. 133, Nos. 1300-1304; *CCIMC*, Vol. III, p. 193, Nos. 1665-1668 & p. 192, No. 1661.

95. *CCIPML*, p. 305; *CCIMC* Vol. III, pp. 204-05; *SCCIMC*, Vol. III, p. 143.

96. *Ibid*, pp. 204-205; *SCCIMC*, Vol. III, pp. 209-10 & p 276.

It was after the battle of Buxar (A. D. 1765) that the provinces of Bihar and Bengal came under the direct control of the East India Company, which allowed issuing of coins from the Azimabad mint in the name of Shah Alam II for some years more. But, towards the end of A. D. 1772 this mint was wound up by the English and all the servants working in it were dismissed as Warren Hastings, the then Governor-General, was in favour of maintaining only one mint at Calcutta. The exact site of the Patna mint is not known but the tradition current in the city suggests that it was situated somewhere in Khwaja-i-Kalan Mohalla of Patna City on the road leading from the main road to the river side.[97] The Patna mint came to be established again in the time of Cornwallis but it was finally closed in A. D. 1796.[98]

VI

The English first established their mint at Madras, then at Bombay and lastly at Calcutta. Besides these mints, the East India Company issued coins from a number of local mints when it occupied the territories where the mints existed formerly. But these mints were soon closed and by 1834 A. D. the minting activities of the East India Company, became confined to Calcutta, Bombay and Madras.[99] But the Madras mint was soon closed and only the two remaining mints continued issuing coins for India during the administration of the East India Company and thereafter under the Britiesh regime. They are still working in the same continuation.[100] About the mints of the native States there is hardly anything to say.[101]. In most cases the coins of these States were not minted at their own places; the British mints used to strike coins for them. Only Hyderabad and Kutch had their own full-fledged mints but after the

97. *Indian Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. III-IV, 1964-65, pp. 43-48.

98. *Ibid.*, p. 43.

99. U. Thakur, *Mints and Minting in India*, p. 144.

100. *Ibid.*, p. 144.

101. Alan, *IMC*, Vol. IV, pp. 154-55.

integration of these States with Indian Union, all these issues were suspended.

Now, the Indian Union Government has three mints at Bombay, Calcutta and Hyderabad.[102]

Professor & Head
Dept. of Ancient Indian & Asian Studies
Magadh University, Bodhgaya

102. U. Thakur, *Op. cit.*, p. 145 & *JNSI* (Golden J. Vol.), 1961, pp. 194-96.

The Patna Mint of the Mughal Subah of Bihar :* An Historical Outline

DR. QEYAMUDDIN AHMAD

I. Establishment and Early History

There is a reference to the setting up of a mint in Bihar almost immediately after the establishment of Turkish rule in the area in 1203. Minhaj-i Siraj, the contemporary chronicler writes that Muhammad Bakhtiyar Khalji get the *khutba* read and coins struck, and also established *thānas* and *madrasas*, in his dominion. Farishta, a later writer, more specifically writes that Muhammad Bakhtiyar Khalji issued coins in Bihar. No coin of his time, however, came down to us. What is more surprising, for a period of over a century after the death of Muhmammad Bakhtiyar Khalji (1206), we do not get any references in the chronicles to the setting up of a mint in Bihar. Such references in the chronicles are rare in regard to some other areas too but, unlike the case of Bihar, we have the coins from the mints of those areas. The long gap in the evidence, both literary and numismatic, is broken by the account of *Mulla* Taqiyah, the 16th traveller and historian, who passed through Bihar on his way to Bengal and who in his *Bayāz* has noted the establishment of a mint in Tughlaqpur, *'urf* (alias) Tirhut, or modern Darbhanga, during the reign of Muhammad bin Tughlaq (1325-51). This reference is backed by an extant specimen of coin from the mint. It bears the mint-name Tughlaqpur *'urf* Tirhut and is dated A. H. 731 (1330-31). It belongs to the well-knwn token-coins series with its distin-

* The present article is a part of a larger one, entitled The Mughals Mints in Bihar, published in S. H. Askari, Ed. *The Comprehensive History of Bihar*, Vol. II, Part II, Patna, 1987, pp. 459-513.

ctive legend. The legend has been read as—*Min Ata'u's Sultān Faqad Ata'u'r Rahman : Muhr Shud Tanka Rā'ij dar Ruzgar, Banda-i Umeedwar Muhammad Tughlaq.*[1]

For the subsequent period, attention has been drawn to a gold coin dated A. H. 761 (1359-60) issued by Fath Khan[2] during the reign of Firuz Shah (1351-88) of which the mint-name has been read as Patna, and it has been taken to mean Patna. But the reading of the mint-name as Patna is not certain. The mint-name column in the Catalogue listing the coin[3] has been left undeciphered, and the writer concerned has himself observed that it was 'questionable' as to whether Patna existed as an important town at that time.

Again, as during the period following the death of Muhammad Bakhtiyar Khalji, there is a long gap in the evidence, literary or numismatic in Bihar after the reign of Muhammad bin Tughlaq. It is virtually certain that there must have been some mints in Bihar[4] during the period but we do not have any specimens.

Sher Shah's close association with Bihar is well-known, and the transfer of the provincial capital from Biharsharif to Patna by him is specifically recorded by the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Dā'ūdī* but he does not mention anything about a mint also having been set up at the time.

Sher Shah introduced significant reforms in the currency system, and we have a large number of coins issued from the numerous mints of his kingdom. None, however, from the Patna mint is known. But

1. H. N. Wright, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, Calcutta, Oxford, 1907, Vol. II, p. 60, no. 384.

2. *Ibid*., p. 67, no. 462. Also see *Compr. Hist. of Bihar*, Vol. 11, Part 1, p. 202.

3. *Ibid*.

4. As we know, Tirhut and Bihar were constituted as separate administrative units as early as the reign of Iltutmish (1210-36) and later on Bihar is recorded as one of the provinces of the empire of Muhammad bin Tughlaq. It can reasonably be assumed that it had a mint, like some of the other larger administrative units.

it appears that during the time of the Karārānī ruler, Sulaimān (1562-72), there was a mint working at Patna. Abul Fazl writes that Sulaimān, on the advice of his far-sighted *Wazir*, Lodi, had established friendly contacts with the Mughal commander-in-chief in the eastern provinces, Mun'nm Khān, *Khān-i Khānān*. In had further been agreed that the *Khān-i Khānān* should meet Sulaimān, so that 'by coming face to face the alliance might be confirmed and the khutba and the coinage might be adorned with the lofty titles of the Shahinshah'. Setting aside the misgivings of his advisers, the *Khān-i Khānān* had set out for Patna with a large party. When they were five or six *kos* from Patna they were received by Sulaimān who, Abul Fazl goes on to add, embraced the *Khan-i Khānān*. Visits were exchanged and the two invited each other to their quarters. During the party hosted by him, Sulaimān exalted the pulpit by the holy name (of Akbar). He also glorified the coinage by the sacred stamp and offered suitable presents.[1] The event is recorded towards the end of the year 1567, and it is evident that the mint at Patna must have been working since some time earlier.

We are on firmer ground for the period after 1577-78, for the *Akbarnāmāh* recording the events of the 22nd *Ilāhī* era (1577-78) states that Akbar had important discussions 'about the affairs of the empire' at a meeting of the 'privy council' attended by Shah Mansur, Rajah Todar Mal and Muzaffar Khān. Among the other matters decided upon was the re-organisation of the mints set-up. The mints which were under the charge of *Chaudhries* were put up under the 'directorship' of Khwajah Abdus Samad *Shirīn Qalam* the famous calligraphist. The supervision of the mints seems to have been de-centralised, for thereafter the appointment of different persons in charge of the mints at Lahore, Bengal, Jaunpur, Gujarat, and Patna is recorded.[2] The Patna Mint was put under the charge of Asaf Khan. Actually, it was not a case of the establishment of a new mint. As stated above, a mint was already working at Patna since the time of Sulaimān Kararani.

1. *Akbarnamah*, Eng. tr Henry Beveridge, Vol. II, Calcutta, 1912, pp. 478-79.
2. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 321.

The mint was quite active since the conquest of Bihar by Akbar (1574) till the very end of Mughal rule. The Patna Museum Collection of Mughal coins alone has several hundreds of silver/copper coins issued from Patna/Azimabad mint by Mughal rulers from Akbar to Shah Alam II (1759-1803), including even the pretenders to the throne such as Shahjahan II, (A. H. 1131=1718-19) and Shahjahan III (A. H. 1174=1760-61).[1]

Some details about the different types of the Patna coins of the Mughal emperors, including some of the rare issues, the honorofic titles used for the Patna mint, its special mint-mark, etc. are available in the Catalogues of some of the major coin collections of the Museums at London, Calcutta, Lahore and Lucknow. Here, only a few of the rare issues from the Patna mint, belonging to the uncatalogued coins collection of the Patna Museum[2] are listed;

(1) Silver Coin of Akbar dated A. H. 983 (1575-86). It is square-shaped and the legend reads as follows; Obverse, *La Ilaha Illallah, Muhammadu'r Rasulu'llah*, Reverse, *Jalalu'd Din Muhammad Akbar Badshah Ghazi, Daru'l Darb* Patna, 983. This is among the earliest available coins of Akbar from the Patna mint. As we know, Patna was conquered by Akbar in August 1574, and this coin was issued almost immediately after that (A. H. 983, beginning from 12 April, 1575). Copper issues are scarce but not unknown.

(2) Of Jahangir, both gold and silver coins are available, the latter in plenty. Some of them bear the legend; Obverse, *Sikka zad dar shahr-i Patna Khusraw-i Ālam Panāh*, Reverse, *Shah Nuru'd Din Ibn-i Akbar Badshāh* (Eng. tr. Struck coin in the city of Patna, the Khusraw, the Refuge of the Universe, Shah Nuru'd Din, son of Akbar Badshah).

(3) Coins bearing Nurjahan's name issued from Patna mint. During the long period of Mughal rule in India the extraordinary honour

1. A complete list of the Patna mints coins of the Mughal emperors, belonging to the Patna Museum, is given in the larger article referred to above in the first footnote.

2. Catalogues of other Collections too have some of these specimens,

of having her name minted on the coins was not conferred upon any Mughal queen, except Nurjahan. This lends a special numismatic value to such coins. In all only some 200 such coins are known, and after eliminating the duplicates it appears that these coins were issued only from 8 mint-towns, including Patna, and they cover only the last few years of Jahangir's reign (A. H. 1033-1037 = 1623-4 to 1626-27).

(4) The war of succession among Shahjahan's four sons is well-known. One of them, Shah Shuja' made the bid from his headquarters Rajmahal (Akbarnagar). The attempt failed and he paid for it with his life. A numismatic reminder of this attempt by Shah Shuja' is a silver coin dated A. H. 1068 (1657-58) issued from the Akbarnagar mint. It is a silver coin and the legend within a square lined area, reads as follows; Obverse, *Lā Ilaha Illallāh, Muhmmadu'r Rasūlu'llāh*, Reverse, *Shah* (*Muhammad*) *Shuja'*, *Ghazi* (*Julus*) *Ahd*, (*Darb*) *Akbarnagar*.

In accordance with the re-naming of Patna as Azimabad in 1704 the mint too came to be styled Azimabad. Coins bearing this new name are available from A. H. 1117 (1705-06) onwards, but a few coins bearing the old name Patna are also available.

As regards the honorofic titles used for the Patna Mint, the gold coin of Akbar, mentioned above, bears the simple designation *Daru'l Darb* (seat of the mint) Patna. During the reign of Farrukhasiyar (1712-19) we find the use of the title *Mustaqau'l Mulk* (Restingplace of the Kingdom). On a coin of Ahmad Shah (1754-59) we find for the first time the mint mark, used on the reverse side, to the left of the words 'Julus 6', which serves to distinguish the later Mughal coins of Azimabad mint.

II. The Concluding Phase

The last phase of the history of Patna mint (1772-96) is covered by the administration of the East India Company. It was characterised by a short closure (1772), re-opening (1775) and final closure (1796). When the Company took over the administration, there were four mints in Bengal, situated at Dacca, Murshidabad, Calcutta and Patna. The coins from these different mints differed in value due, partly, to differences in

fineness and weight. To this was added the problem of that were called the *sikka* and *sanaut* rupees.[1]

Repeated attempts by Warren Hastings (and since earlier) to bring about a uniformity of standard in the coinage had failed, and the Dacca and Patna mints had been abolished (1772) in an attempt to lessen the growing confusion of a variety of exchange rates. The winding-up of the Patna mint, however, proved to be short-lived and we find it working again a little later.

As early as March 1775, the Patna Council had started writing to the President in Council at Calcutta to re-open the Patna mint but Warren Hastings stuck to his policy of having only one mint at Calcutta. Under Lord Cornwallis (1786-93), the matter was re-considered and the Patna mint re-started.

By the end of 1796 it was felt that there was not enough work at the provincial mints from which only 'trifling' sums of money were being coined. The Mint Master, Calcutta, was directed to order the provincial Mint Masters to wind up the Establishment after completing the minting of all the bullion already received.[2] A distinction was made between the assaying and minting work of the Department, and it was decided to retain the Assay Master at Patna and Dacca. The concerned staff were to be retained on the existing salary but without any commission or allowance as was formerly received. The Mint Masters were also to retain the buildings which had been obtained on rent by the Company, or such parts of it as were needed for the assay work. The Mint Master, Patna informed the authorities at Calcutta that the whole establishment of the mint, servants and artificers, had been discharged on 31 December, 1796.

1. The former was the appellation given to the coins of the reigning kings. All official payments including that of land revenue were made in it. Later, the name was given to coins which were current at a given time. Even the coins of a reigning king turned out to be *sanaut* after some time, very often three years. They were exchangeable with some discount or *Batta*.

2. *Progs*. Mint Committee, dated the 14th October, 1796, Resolution.

As for the Assay Office, he enclosed a Statement[1] listing the workers, their pay, contingent expenses, etc. involving a monthly expenditure of Rs. 212.00. Robert Blake, the erstwhile mint-master, continued under the changed designation of Assay Master.

The Patna Mint in its turncated condition continued for another two years until it was finally windup in 1798. Accepting the recommendations of the Mint-Master, Calcutta, regarding the disposal of the Patna Mint building, its dwelling-houses, the recovery of the amount unauthorisedly invested by Robert Blake[2] in his personal indigo investments, etc. The Calcutta authorities directed the Board of Revenue, Bihar, to take charge of the buildings and suggest the best way of their disposal. The Assay Master had earlier reported that although the mint building itself was in good condition, the dwelling-houses were in a state of decay 'and would not withstand the next rainy season'. There was also some apparatus of a laminating machine built in the brick-work which could not be taken out without pulling down one side of the mill-room.

The Mint Master, Calcutta, had suggested that the Mint building should be sold away 'for what they will fetch'[3], or handed over to the Judge or the Collector. The building was accordingly sold to a local gentleman named Ahmad Husain Khan for Rs. 2050.00. This was a rather big amount of money, considering the prices prevailing at the time. It seems quite probable that the Mint building and the dwelling houses constituted a large complex.

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1. Letter from Robert Blake, Assay Master, to James Miller, Mint Master, dated the 8th Febuary, 1797.

2. He had been allowed to draw upon the Collector, Shahabad, for monthly expenses, but not when he had cash in hand. He had violated this instruction and drawn upon the Collector Shahabad and spent the money on his personal indigo investments A sum of Rs. 3193.12.8. was owed by him and he had to reimburse it.

3. In view of the earlier reference to the building having been taken on rent, it seems that it had either been purchased during the interval, or some portion of the complex was owned by the Company.

III. The Site of the Mint

The site of the Patna Mint is not mentioned in the records, except that it was near the river bank. It may be mentioned in this connection that in *mahalla* Khwaja Kalan *ghat* (P. S. Khwaja Kalan, Patna City) there is a small area towards the river-side, which is still named *taksal*, or the mint. Adjacent to it, to the south-west, is the 18th century *dargah* of Shah Husain Ali, and a large number of mica discs, some bearing impressions of coin-legends[1] were discovered in the area during the course of diggings for construction of houses. The area covered by the present Khwaja Kalan *thāna* seems to have formed the hub of the administrative block of the town during the Mughal period. The *sūbahdār's* palace, the well-known *Chihil Satūn* (Forty-Pillared Hall) stood ½ a mile to the east near the present Chowk *thāna*; the *Dāru'l 'Adl* (Court of Justice) stood where the present Khwaja Kalan thana stands[2]; and at the back of it was the *mahalla* where the *Qazis* lived.[3] The nearby *mahalla* Sadar Gali, according to old and knowledgeable presons was actually named *Sadru's Sadur ki gali*. A little to the west, near the present Government Hospital, Patna City and the Christian cremetery of 1760s stood a *mahalla* still named in municipal records as *Faujdari*, where probably the criminal court buildings were located. It is therefore quite likely that the Mint too was situated in the neighbourhood, and that the area called *taksal* in the Khwaja Kalan Ghat was the actual site of it.

Professor of History
Patna University
Patna

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1. Our ancestral house stands nearby and some of these mica discs were preserved by my grand father and I had seen them.

2. A 17th century inscription recording the construction of the Court of Justice and another one, dated 1729-30, recording its renovation was discovered in the thana premises and is still fixed on the wall of its lower northern verandah; see my *Corpus of Arabic and Persian Inscriptions of Bihar*, Patna, 1973, pp. 271-73, 313-15.

3. Several tombs of these *Qazis* are situated in the courtyard of the *thana*.

Turko-Afghan Mints of Bihar : A. D. 1199-1576

DR HASAN NISHAT ANSARI

Historical Outline

The conquest of the Bihar and Bengal regions of north eastern India and their conversion into component parts of the Indian dominion of the Ghorid Sultan Muizuddin Muhammad bin Sam was achieved by the military exertions of his general Ikhtiyaruddin Muhammad Bin Bakhtiyar Khalji between A. D. 1199 and 1205. Out of the following three hundred and fifty years that elapsed between 1206 and 1556 almost three full centuries were linked with the rise and eclipse of Turko-Afghan monarchies or sultanates represented by the five dynasties known as the Mamluk (A, D. 1206-90), the Khalji (A. D. 1290-1320), the Tughlaq (A. D. 1320-1412), the Lodi (1451-1526) and the Sur (1540-1556). Following the death of Sultan Mahmud, the last Tughlaq ruler in A. H. 815/A. D. 1412, the amirs and maliks transferred their allegiance to Daulat Khan whom Ferishtah refers as a Lodi.[1] This indicates that he belonged to the Lodi tribe of the Afghans. As a ruler of Delhi he did not assume the title of Sultan. In A. D. 1414 Khizr Khan, the Governor of Multan, entered Delhi, imprisoned Daulat Khan and founded a new dynasty referred to as the Saiyed. The Saiyed Kings, who ruled till A. D. 1451, were supposedly of Arab origin. Khizr Khan, the dynasty's founder, claimed descent from prophet Muhammad of Arabia.

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1. The Tarikh-i-Ferishtah was completed about A. D. 1606. However, another early seventeenth century work the Zubdat-ut-Tawarikh of Nurul Haq and a late sixteenth century history the Tarish-i-Haqqi of Abbul Haq written in A. H. 1005/A. D. 1596 describe Daulat Khan as a Firozi prince.

The short period of about fifteen years between 1526 and 1540 witnessed the establishment of Mughal regime by Babar in areas of northern India including Bihar as well as the passing of the leadership of the Afghans to Sher Shah, a skilful and sagacious Afghan of the Sur clan, who was able to forge a bond of unity among the various Afghan tribes that were in a state of disunion. In the time of the slothful and ineffective Mughal emperor Humayun there was a fierce Mughal-Afghan struggle for sovereignty over north India. In consequence, the Mughal rule in this part of the country including Bihar was disestablished. The Suri regime lasted till November 1556. About this time Humayun, who was by now able to overcome his shortcomings and difficulties, arrived back in India from his Persian exile and re-established the dislodged Mughal dynasty. But soon after his demise occurred, and the task of quelling the Afghans and consolidating the re-established Mughal rule became the main concern of his successor Akbar.

Puzzling Bihar Coins of Bakhtiyar

Written historical records of the Turko-Afghan phase of medieval period refrain from telling us about establishment and administration of the mints in Bihar and Tirhut between A. D. 1199 and 1976. Ferishtah's Tarikh is the only chronicle which explicitly describes Ikhtiyaruddin Muhammed Bin Bakhtiyar Khalji as a coiner of money in the territories of Bihar, Deokot and Jajnagar.[1] No specimen of the money coined by Ikhtiyaruddin from the town of Bihar (modern Biharsharif) has so far been unearthed directly confirming the casual information given by Ferishtah.

The town of Bihar was occupied by Ikhtiyaruddin in A. D. 1199, and by A. D. 1203-04 a considerable part of southern Bihar region was

1. Tarikh-i-Ferishtah (Lucknow Text) ii, p 293.
The Ain i-Akbari gives at length a description of the Mughal imperial mint and its workmen as well as other matters relating to the c inage of the Mughal empire. Ain-i-Akbari of Abul Fazl Allami (H. Blochmann's Tr.) Ed. D. C. Phillott (Calcutta 1977) i, pp. 17-19, Pl. I-III; also pp. 19-23, 23-45.

acknowledging his authority. Under the Turko-Afghans the town of Bihar was the governmental seat of the region of Bihar to the south of the river Ganga for almost three hundred and fifty years. But none of the known literary sources, including the Tarikh of Ferishtah which makes mention of coins struck by Ikhtiyaruddin in the territory of Bihar, divulge information pertaining to the establishment of a mint located in the town of Bihar.

Minhajuddin Siraj's Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, a nearly contemporary history written in A. D. 1260, refers to coining of money by him in the territory of Lakhnanti (Western Bengal).[1] The over-running and conquest of the region of Lakhnauti by Ikhtiyaruddin Muhammad Bin Bakhtiyar Khalji is ascribed to the year A. D. 1204-05. The gold tanka coin of the Ghurid Sultan Muizuddin Muhammad Bin Sam with the titles of the Sultan in Arabic as well as the Nagari legend 'gaura vijaya' (vijaye) meaning 'at the victor of Gaur' or 'on the (occasion of the) conquest of Gaur' was struck in the name of Sultan Muhammad Bin Sam by Ikhtiyaruddin Muhammad Bin Bakhtiyar Khalji in A. D. 1205[2] probably from the capital city of Laksmanavati, Lakhnavati or Lakhnauti of the Muslim chroniclers, which was formerly called Gaur. The coin carries the device of the galloping horseman armed with a mace perhaps to imaginatively[3] commemorate the occupation of the river-girt region of Lakhnauti (Western Bengal) by

1. Tabaqat-i-Nasri (Bib. Ind. Text) p. 151.
2. Nicholas W. Lowick : The Horseman Type of Bengal and the Question of Commemorative Issues, JNSI, 35 (1973) pp. 196-198, Plate XV. Also, Parmeshwari Lal Gupta : Nagari Legend on Horseman Tanka of Muhammad Bin Sam, ibid, pp. 209-212 and Simon Digby : The Currency System in the Cambridge Economic History of India (C. 1200 C.–1750) ed. Tapan Raychaudhari & Irfan Habib, Cambridge 1982, i, p. 94 n[2]. The gold coin of Muizzuddin in the British Museum is dated 19 Ramazan A. H. 601/ A. D. 1205. This date of the conquest of Gaur is given in words on its obverse in the margin. Below it is placed the Nagari legend 'gaur vijaya'. The obverse also has 'in a circle, a horseman at the charge, carrying a mace.' The reverse mentions the Arabic legend 'Assultan-ul-Azam Muizzuddunya Waddin Abul Muzaffar Muhammad Bin Sam' which forms the title of the Sultan. The coin weighs 11.17 gm and has a size of 23 mm.
3. Cf. Simon Digby in CEHI, i, p. 94.

Ikhtiyaruddin principally with the help of a small body of mounted Turko-Afghan combat troops. The numismatic issue struck in the reigning Sultan's name by Ikhtiyaruddin at Gaur lends some credence to Ferishtah's statement that he issued coins from Bihar.

Absence of Muizzi and Mamluk Coins

There are no known coins of Sultan Muizuddin of Ghor issued by Bakhtiyar Khalji from Bihar after his victories in the area. Even those of the Mamluk Sultans who were in possession of southern Bihar have no known coins of theirs from a mint located in the territory.

Khalji Emperors

The Khalji sovereigns were perhaps not able to establish royal mints either in Bihar or Tirhut. The northwestern portion of southern Bihar was held by Alauddin Khalji towards the end of his rule. The Khalji coins found in the area are not from a mint of Bihar.[1] In between A. D. 1303-4 and 1320 the Persian histories are silent as to the activities of the Khaljis concerning the region of Bihar-Bengal.[2] The hold of the Khaljis over southen Bihar was neither secure nor extensive. Perhaps this situation explains the non-establishment of a Khalji mint in southern Bihar. In the time of the Sultan the Raja of Tirhut or north Bihar and the Jaymangalgarh—Begusarai area in north Bihar acknowledged the authority of the Khalji Sultanate.[3] A coin of Alauddin Khalji was discovered at Jaymangalgarh. The year of issue and the mint-name on the coin is unclear.[4]

An agreement was reached between the Sultan and the Raja following a Khalji victory. According to the sixteenth century Bajaz of Mulla Taqia the Raja was reinstated as the ruler of Tirhut on condition of owing allegiance and payment of annual tribute to the Khalji Sultanate. Apparently the Raja observed the conditions of the accord, and was able

1. H. N. Ansari : Political History of Bihar under the Khaljis (A. D. 1290-1320/A. H. 690-720); JBRS (1968) LIV, p. 273.
2. Ibid, pp. 270-274.
3. Ibid, pp. 260-263.
4. Ibid, pp. 262 n27.

to retain his freedom of action concerning internal matters of the principality restored to him. In the circumstances, the establishment of a Khalji mint in the territory of Tirhut seems improbable.

The single undated silver coin carrying designs of the Nepals type coinage and the name and titles of Sultan Alauddin Khalji in Arabic.[1] probably had to be issued at the orders of Sakrasimha (1285-1316) the Raja of Tirhut in the Delhi Sultan's name when a portion of the Nepal territory was conquered by an expeditionary force of the Raja and annexed to Tirhut some time prior to A. D. 1314.[2]

Tughluq Mints

The first authentically known mint-town of Bihar during the period A. D. 1199-1576 was 'Tughluqpur 'urf Tirhut'. The very mint name 'iqlim-i-Tughluqpur' is suggestive of its original connercion with the coins of the Tughluq currency. It owed its establishment to Sultan Muhammad Bin Tughluq during whose rule the Tughluq mint system underwent expansion and development. The literary sources are entirely reticent about the establishment and operation of this mint of Tirhut or North Bihar. But there are several inscribed coins, struck in gold and copper from the mint which provide us with the meagre but valued tell-tale evidence relating to its installation and functioning. The coins mention the name and titles of the ruling sovereign, the mint, and the year or date of issue in accordance with the islamic Hijri calendar. R. B. Whitehead rightly observes while reflecting about 'illustration and rectification' of history from numismatic sources that coins are "contemporary documents in metal."[3] The copper coins dated A. H. 731/A. D. 1330-31 and A. H. 732/A. D. 1331-32, and the gold issue dated A. H. 735/A. D. 1334-35 bear

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1. Ibid, pp. 268-269; Appendix I B, pp. 276-277.

2. Ibid, pp. 268n[42]-269n[44].

3. R. B. whitehead : Catalogue of the Collection of Coins Illustrative of the Rulers of Delhi upto 1858 A. D. in the Delhi Museum of Archaeology (founded December, 1908), Calcutta 1910, p. 13.

the mint name "iqlim-i-Tughluqpur 'urf Tirhut."[1] The Bayaz of Mulla Taqia supporting the evidence from the numismatic sources relates that the town of Darbhanga was renamed as Tughluqpur during the regime of Muhammad Bin Tughluq. These token copper coins were issued under the Sultan's scheme of token currency introduced in A. D. 1330 due to the scarcity of silver.

The town or city of Patna for the first time appears as a royal mint during the reign of emperor Firuz Shah Tughluq. A gold coin bearing the name of his eldest son and the heir-apparent Fath Khan as well as the mint-name of "Shahr-i-Patna", located in Bihar was struck in A. H. 761/ A. D. 1359.[2] It is perhaps the only known numismatic issue from the Tughluq mint of Patna. This is the earliest mention of Patna as an imperial mint town in the days prior to the dawn of the Mughal regime. As a royal successor-designate the prince was allowed the use of royal ensigns including the authority to strike coins. Prince Fath Khan was also appointed as the Viceroy of the eastern Tughluq dominion comprising the provinces of Awadh, Jaunpur and Bihar about the same year probably to counteract the effects of the anti-Delhi stance in the policy of Sultan

1. H. Nelson Wright : The Coinage and Metrology of the Sultans of Delhi (Incorporating a catalogue of the coins in the Author's cabinet now in the Delhi (Museum) Delhi 1936, No. 579, p. 140 for copper coin dated A. H. 731 (wt. 141.8 grains S .8"); Nos. 580-81, p. 140 for the two copper coins dated A. H. 732 of equal weight (136 grains) and size (.8"); No. 478, p. 117 for the gold coin (wt. 168.8 grains and S .9"), Also, H. N. Ansari : Tirhut (North Bihar) and Bihar (South Bihar) under Muhammad Bin Tughluq : A. D. 1325-1351, JBRS (1964) L, pp. 60 n 8-10—61, and Numismatics in Bihar II, Medieval, in Bihar : Past & Present (Souvenir/13th Annual Congress of Epigraphical Society of India) Gen. Ed. P. N. Ojha (Patna 1987) p. 114 where the present writer in this article by him has erred in mentioning that there are two extant coins in copper and gold of the Sultan bearing the mint's name.
2. Bihar : Past & Present (Souvenir pp. 115-n 12'13-116. The misprinted dated 760 (ibid p. 115) in the writer's article should be read as 762. Also, the section by the writer on Firuz Shah Tughluq in Ch. VI of the Comprehensive History of Bihar (ed. S. H. Askari & Q. Ahmad) Pt I, pp. 201-202,

Sikandar Shah, the contemporary Bengal ruler, on the eastern region of the Tughluq empire.[1] Probably, as Patna was intended to be the capital city of the viceroyalty of Fath Khan that a mint was established there. In the chronicles and other literary sources of the period the description of Patna in Bihar as a mint town of the Tughluq Sultanate is wanting. The Jajnagar campaign of emperor Firoz Shah Tughluq is placed in A. H. 762/ A. D. 1360, a year after the minting of the coin. Therefore, the mint of the coin cannot be held identical with Patna in the territory of Jajnagar (Orissa).

Sharqi Interlude

The Sharqis of Jaunpur (A. D. 1399-1505) were in control of the areas of Bihar and Tirhut. Although coins belonging to Sharqi rulers were found in Bihar and Tirhut none of these is a product of a mint situated in either of the two regions. Sikandar Lodi wrested Bihar from Husain Shah Sharqi in A. H. 901/A. D. 1495 and established his officers in that country.[2]

Saiyed Kings

The rule of the Saiyed Kings (1414-51) did not extend to Jaunpur, Bihar and Bengal.

Lodi Sovereigns

Of the Lodi sovereigns Sikandar (1489-1517) and for a short time his son and successor, Ibrahim (1517-1526) were in control of Bihar. But no coin of theirs struck at a mint in Bihar has yet been found.

Anonymous Nuhani Mint

The Nuhani Afghans rose to power and established an independent Kingdom in Bihar at a time when the first Afghan empire of India founded by the Lodis was on its decline and a new power of the Sur Afghans with its centre in Bihar was on the rise to subsequently culminate in the crea-

1. Ibid.
2. Niamatullah: Makhzan-i-Afaghina, KBOPL MS (No. 529) f. 122. Also, Ishwari Prasad: History of Mediaeval India (Allahabad 1952) p. 499.

tion of a second empire of the Afghan in North India. Bahar or Bahadur Khan Nuhani (A. D. 1522-28), the son and successor of Dariya Khan Nuhani (A. D. 1495-1522), was the founder of the ephemeral kingdom of the Nuhani Afghans. Dariya Khan was the great and powerful Nuhani governor of the province of Bihar in the reign of Sultans Sikandar Lodi and Ibrahim Lodi. As the ruler of Bihar, Dariya Khan in effect wielded an independent authority although he refrained from assuming the title of King and striking coins in his name. The Tarikh of Ferishtah, the Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afaghina of Ahmad Yadgar, the Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi of Abbas Sarwani, the Makhzan-i-Afaghana and the Tarikh-i-Khan Jahan Lodi of Niamatullah mention that Bahar or Bahadur Khan had declared himself as an independent king, adopted the title of Sultan Muhammad Shah and had the khutba or public prayer recited and coins struck in his name. He was succeeded by his son Sultan Jalaluddin. Neither any coin of Bahadur (Bahar) Khan nor of his son Jalaluddin has yet been discovered. Thus there is no numismatic corroboration of the statement of the chroniclers that Bahadur, the Nuhani ruler of Bihar issued coins. The Tuzuk-i-Babari of emperor Babar and the Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi of Rizqullah Mushtaqi refer to his independent status as a ruler of Bihar without mentioning him as a coiner of money.

Sur Mints

It is related in the Tarikh-i-Khan-i-Jahani also known as the Tarikh-i-Khan Jahan Lodi that after his victory at Chausa near Baksar (Buxar) in Bihar, Sher Shah summoned an assemblage of his Afghan chiefs or commanders and narrated what he had dreamt the previous night. He had dreamed that he and the emperor Humayun together made their appearance in the durbar of Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him !), and the Prophet lifting away the crown from the head of Humayun offered it to him with the condition that he would rule with justice and equity.[1]

1. Tarikh-i-Khan-i-Jahani of Khwaja Niamatullah Haravi (Dacca 1960) p. 303 vide translation in S. B. P. Nigam : Sur Wansh Ka Itihas, Part I, (Sher Shah Sur : 1540-45) New Delhi 1972, p. 356. Also, Munshi Saiyed Ahmad Murtaza : Saulat-i-Sher Shahi (Aligarh 1934) p. 58. The dream is described by the author without mentioning the source.

On hearing this the presentees offered congratulations to Sher Shah and thereafter happily retired to their tents. Their seems to be some connexion between this dream and the subsequent establishment of the Hazrat Rasulpur 'urf Patna mint by the Suri emperor. The small rural town of Patna standing on the banks of the river Ganga was selected by Sher Shah on his return from Bengal in A. D. 1541 for being developed as a great town of the country and as the chief and the largest city of the province in place of the Bihar town. At this strategically situated place a strong fort was constructed. Sher Shah had given orders for the erection of a fort in Patna town[1] (during A. D. 1541). The coining of silver issues from the 'Hazrat Rasulpur 'urf Patna' mint (Hazrat Rasulpur [the Holy Prophet's (fortified) city] otherwise known as Patna) in A. D. 1543[2] is in all probability related to the dream he had subsequent to his success at the battle of the holy Prophet or Messenger before whose benedictive or beneficial presence he had appeared in a dream, he gave the appellation of Hazrat Rasulpur to the developing provincial capital city of Patna in A. D. 1543, the year of the Kalimah type rare numismatic issue. H. Nevill in his article *Mint Towns of the Delhi Sultans* incorrectly identifies the mint-name with Rasulpur near Maner known as Rasulpur Maner, and to prove his misidentification appear as right he asserts country to the facts mentioned in the Tarikh-i-Daudi of Abdullah that 'probably the fort of Sher Shah was considerably above the town of Patna and nearer the present Cantonment of Danapur, if not actually situated there'. Finally, he mislocates it at a place called 'Rasulpur less than twenty miles upstream from the modern town of Patna' as 'the situation of this place agrees better with the

1. The Tarike-i-Daudi of Abdullah, HIED, IV, p. 477. Also, H. N. Ansary : Political Organisation of Bihar under the Turks (A. D. 1203-1412/A. H. 599-815) in History & Culture (B. P. Sinha Felicitation Volume) Ed. Bhagwant Sahai Delhi 1987, p. 440 where the word, 'town' is somehow left out in print after the words 'a small village'.

2. H. N. Wright : The Coinage and Metrology of the Sultans of Delhi (Delhi, 1936) No. 280, p. 280 plate XIII. Also, Bihar, Past & Present (Souvenir) p. 121.

account given in the' chronicle 'than Patna as it now stands'.[1] The word *hazrat* signifies a holy or exalted personage and the word *rasul* means a prophet or messenger of Allah. Both these are Arabic words. The Sanskrit *pur* connotes a fortified town or city. The Indo-Arabic appellation Hazrat Rasulpur for Patna and the mention of his titles in billingual coin legend—Assultan Sher Shah in Arabic and as Sri Ser Sah in Sanskrit-Nagari[2]—reflects the emperor's concern for promotion of different languages and strenghening social harmony in the Sur kingdom.

Another mint of the Sur emperor in the territory of Bihar was located at Qila Shergarh (Shergarh fort). This hill fort constructed by Sher is situated on the plateau of Shergarh in the Rohtas district of Bihar. About twenty miles to the south west of this fort lies another but older and well-known hill fort of the Raja of Rohtas. Obviously, a mint in the fort of Shergarh was first established at the orders of Sher Shah Suri. There are silver and copper numismatic issues of Sher Shah Suri which were minted from the Qila Shergarh mint between A. H. 945/A. D. 1538 and A. H. 952/A. D. 1545.[3] The assertion of Abbas Khan Sarwani the author of Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi that Farid or Sher assumed the Kingship with the title of Sher Shah and caused the coin to be struck and the khutba to be read in his name subsequent to the battle of Chausa (fought in A. D. 1539) is contradicted by his silver issues of the mint dated A. D. 1538. Abbas Sarwani and Rizqullah Mushtaqi state that Sher Shah became known by the title of *Shah Alam*. The numismatic legends on the

1. J & PASB (NS) Vol. XVII 1921, Num. Suppl. XXXV (Article No. 219) pp. 125-126.
2. Wright : CMSB, No. 1068. p. 280 Plate XIII. Also, Bihar, Past & Present (Souvenir) p. 121.
3. Wright : CMSD, No. 1040 A dated A. H. 945, p. 269; No. 1041A dated A. H. 951 p. 271, plate XXIV; No. 1042 dated A. H. 952, p. 271 plate XII (all silver); S. Ahmad : A Supplement to Volume II of the Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum Calcutta (The Sultans of Delhi and their Contemporaries (Delhi 1939) No. 131, p. 21 (silver) ; Wright . CMSD, Nos. 1151-1155 dated A. H. 950/1543 and A. H. 951/A. D. 1544, pp. 302-3 (all copper).

copper issues struck at the Qila Shergarh mint refute the statements of Abbas and Mushtaqi about the title of Sher Shah by referring to the Sur King as 'Sultan-ul-Adil Sher Shah'[1] and 'Sultan Adil Sher Shah'.[2] There are Kalimah type silver coins of the emperor also from this mint.[3] Some of the silver coins of the emperor bearing the unqualified mint-name of Shergarh were probably struck at the mint of the Qila Shergarh as the specimens belong to the distinct series of numismatic pieces 'with the single lined areas' assigned to the fort built by Sher Shah Suri in the Rohtas district of Bihar.[4]

After the year A. D. 1545 historical and numismatic evidence is entirely lacking as to the manufacture of coins from the Bihar mints of the Sur Afghans. None of the known coins of the successors of Sher Shah belong to a mint from Bihar. Perhaps his successors did not issue coins from Bihar.

Kararani Dynasty

The Karrani or Kararani Afghans were the defacto rulers of Bihar and Bengal from about A. D. 1565 to 1576. During the disturbed political conditions obtaining in Bihar and Bengal after the demise of Islam Shah Suri in October 1553 the two brothers Sulaiman Khan Kararani, who was the Governor of Bihar in the reign of the Suri emperor and Taj Khan Kararani, an important grandee or officer of Sher Shah succeeded in establishing their rule over the provinces of South Bihar and Western Bengal. Sulaiman Khan Kararani was the defacto ruler of Bihar and Bengal from A. D. 1562 to 1567. However, he acknowledged the imperial authority of Akbar and in the style of Sher Shah he contentedly used the title of

1. CMSD, Nos. 1151-1155, pp. 302-3.
2. Ibid, Nos. 1156-57, p. 303, Plate XIV. Also, No. 1161, Ibid, p. 304.
3. Ibid, No. 1040 A, p. 269 and No. 1041 A, p. 271. Also, S Ahmad: SCCIMC, ii, No. 131, p. 21.
4. CMSD, p. 386. Ibid, Coin No. 1042 plate XII, p. 271 and coin No. 1042 A, p. 271. Also, Coin No. 1040 B plale XXI, Ibid, p 270. The coins of the unqualified mint name of Shergarh 'with double lined square areas' were struck at Qanauj renamed as Shergarh. Ibid, p. 386.

Hazrat-i-Ala. Sulaiman was succeeded by his eldest son Bayazid. He was too soon, according to Badauni in the course of five or six months, assasinated by the discontented Karrani and Nuhani Afghans. Sulaiman's younger son Daud Khan Kararani ruled over Bihar-Bengal area from A. D. 1567 to 1576. He forsook the policy of appeasement pursued by his father and assumed kingship with the title of Abul Muzaffar Daud Shah. The enraged Mughal suzerain Akbar acted militarily against the openly defiant Karranis. The Mughal supremacy was re-established in Bihar during A. D. 1574-75. The sturdy military campaigns of Akbar against the insubordinate Afghans leading to the defeat and death of Daud Khan Karrani in A. D. 1576 brought the curtain down on the Afghan hegemony over Bihar and Bengal.[1] But even afterwards flickering acts of rebellion by the Afghans continued. The Akbarnama informs us that an unsuccessful rebellion of the Afghans occurred in Bihar during A. D. 1580-81.

According to the Riyaz-us-Salatin of Ghulam Husain Salim, Sulaiman Karrani established himself with full independence as king of Bengal and after Humayun's return to India from Persia, he obtained this royal sanction to continue in his office.[2] The Riyaz further states that thus he continued the khutba and the coin after his name styling himself Hazrat' Ala (the exalted or supreme chief) until the next reign when he outwardly showed submission to Akbar.[3] The Riyaz also mentions that

1. For the Karrani Afghans refer Makhzan-i-Afaghina of Nematullah, Akbar-nama and Ain-i-Akbari of Abul Fazl, Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh of Badauni, Tabaqat-i-Akbari of Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tarikh-i-Ferishtah or Gulshan-i-Ibrahimi of Muhammad Qasim Hindu Shah and Riyaz-us-Salatin of Ghulam Husain Salim and Tarikh-i-Daudi of Abdullah. Also, Jadunath Sarkar : Last Afghan Sultans (1553-1575) Ch. IX in History of Bengal (ed. J. N. Sarkar) Patna 1973. pp. 181-186 and A. K. Md. Fazlur Rahman : The Foundation of the Karrani Rule in Bengal (1553-1563) in Muhammad Shahidullah Felicitation Volume (ed. Mohammad Enamul Haq) Dacca July 1966, pp. 373-382. Also, H. Blochmann : Contributions to the History and Geography of Bengal (Muhammadan Period) No. III, JASB (1875) XLIV, pp. 294-306.
2. Riyaz-us-Salatin (A. Salam's Eng. Tr.) pp. 152-53.
3. Ibid., p. 153.

Daud Khan son of Sulaiman Karrani subsequent to his coronation as the King af Bengal "introduced the khutba and the coin after his name."[1] As no coin of Sulaiman Karrani is known from a mint in Bengal or Bihar and other and more reliable authorities are mute concerning the issue of coins by him credence cannot be given in this connection to the remarks of Ghulam Hussain Salim. Also unsupported by the more trustworthy sources is his statement pertaining to the relation between Humayun and Sulaiman Karrani, who became the ruler of Bihar and Bengal in A. D. 1562, about six years after the death of Humayun in A. D. 1556. There are no coins of Daud Shah assigned to a mint in Bihar. His known coins belong to the Bengal mint of Tanda or are of unknown mint.

Remarks

In Bihar and elsewhere in the country the mint establishment and coining of money was the exclusive privilege of royalty or regal authority during the Turko-Afghan regime.

Neither any clear trace of a mint nor a die-apparatus for manufacture of coins by stamping has been found in Bihar relating to the period. No die has been recovered probably because the dies of the preceded dynasty or sovereign were destroyed and replaced by the succeeding dynasty or sovereign in view of their uselessness in the new situation and also to prevent posthumous forgery of coins. To the contrary, some currency coins of the period were unearthed as the coins circulated among the people and they often concealed hoard of coins, mostly of gold and silver, beneath the surface of the ground for safeguarding or future use. The coins were die struck at the mint. This is evident from the expression 'zarb'[2]

1. Ibid., p. 154.
2. The Tughluqpur (Darbhanga) coin of Muhammad Bin Tughluq dated A. H. 735/A. D. 1334-35 on obverse bears the inscription "Zarb Haza al-sikka aqlim Tughluqpur 'urf Tirhut (CMSD, No. 478, p. 117). Some coins of Sher Shah issued from the Qila Shergarh mint in Bihar carry the expression" zarb-ush-Shergarh Qila" (Ibid, Nos. 1152-1155, p. 302) and "Zarb Qila Shergarh" (Ibid, No. 1156, No. 1158 (Plate XIV) p. 303)

(struck at) and 'dar-ul-zarb'[1] (place of striking or minting i. e. the mint) appearing in relation to a mint-name on several of the Bihar coins of the period. The chroniclers, Ferishtah, Yadgar, Sarwani and Niamat-ullah also use the expression 'zarb' to denote the striking of metallic money in Bihar.

The existence of the Muizzi mint of Bihar under Bakhtiyar is somewhat dubious, since its mintages have not been discovered. Its implied existence is singly indicated by the statement of Ferishtah, a none-contemporary historian of the early seventeenth century, that Bakhtiyar Khalji struck coins in Bihar. The external evidence of the Gaur coin issued in the Muhammad Bin Sam only decreases the incredibility of what Ferishtah says about Bakhtiyar as a coiner of money in relation to Bihar. The numismatical and historical conundrum of his Bihar coins is left unresolved. The pronouncement of Ferishtah remains to be proved by a coin find pointing to the existence of a mint in Bihar. Of the khown Muizzi, Mamluk or Khalji coins none is from a mint located in Bihar. The earliest and definitely known mint town of Bihar in the period was 'Tughlaqpur 'urf Tirhut (Darbhanga . The Tughluqpur mint was established by Muhammad Bin Tughluq and its extant mintages include copper and gold coins. During early Turkish rule the city of Patna in Bihar for the first time became a mint town under Firuz Shah Tughluq. The only known issue of the Tughluq mint at Patna is a gold coin. No Bihar mintage of the Sharqi interlude is khown to exist. In the days of the Saiyed kings, the Sharqi rule over Bihar and Tirhut continued. Of the known Lodi coins not a single belongs to a Bihar mint. The mint of the independent Nuhani Sultans of Bihar remains anonymous. The histories do not give any informtion about the Nuhani mint. The chroniclers refer to the striking of coins by Bahadur Khan Nuhani but do not mention the name of the mint. The sources are also silent about the metal or metals used for the Nuhani coinage. No coin of the Nuhani rulers of Bihar has so far been discovered. The Sur mints of Qila Shergarh, and Patna mentioned on

1. A coin of Sher Shah of the Qila Shergarh mint bears the wording "dar-ul-zarb qila shergarh" CMSD, No. 1151 p. 302 plate XIV, p. 302,

the Kalimah type numismatic issue dated A. D. 1543 as 'Hazrat Rasulpur' 'urf Patna' were working in Bihar during the reign of Sher Shah.[1] Sher Shah conferred the title of Hazrat Rasulpur on the town of Patna during the year to do honour to the memory of Prophet Muhammad. The silver and copper issues of the two Sur mints are recorded in Wright's scholarly numismatic catalogue relating to the Sultans of Delhi.

Sher Khan evacuated Bengal soon after its occupation by him in May-June 1538 when emperor Humayun was mightily besieging the area. The Mirat-ul-Alam of Shaikh Muhammad Baqa, a later general history of India, significantly mentions that by the time Humayun arrived in Bengal during A. H. 945/A. D. 1538, Sher Khan carried away its entire treasures to Rohtas.[2] The year A. H. 945 commenced on 30 May 1538 and termi-

1. The Tughluq mint established at Patna in the time of Emperor Firuz Shah Tughluq worked for a very short duration. Thereafter, it was apparently revived for a while by Emperor Babar, the first of the Mughal emperors. Again, during, the Sur interregnum a mint worked here and the town of Patna was given the name of "Hazarat Rasulpur 'urf Patna" as it appears from a numismatic issue of Sher Shah. There are coins of Akbar and other Mughal emperors from the mint town of Patna. The town of Patna was renamed Azimabad in Aurangzeb's time; and the earliest coin from the Azimabad (Patna) mint is dated A. D. 1705. At times the old mint-name of Patna was used on the coins of Rafiud-Darjat (A. D. 1719), a later Mughal ruler. The final closure of the Patna Mint occurred during British rule in A. D. 1796. Refer, Numismatics in Bihar II. Medieval, in Bihar : Past & Present (Souvenir) pp. 115-116, 120-128.

2. Mirat-ul-Alam (KBOPAL Patna) MS I, f. 213 b. It is erroneously held as a work of Bakhtawar Khan. The Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh of Badauni mentions that the capture of Rohtas fort by Sher Khan took place in A. H. 945/A. D. 1538. According to Qanungo it was occupied by him about April of the same year. K. R. Qanungo : Sher Shah & His Times, pp. 179-180. The fort of Rohtas was occupied because, as Qanungo says, "his other fort, Shergarh, situated north of Rohtas and twenty miles south-west of Sahasram (Sasaram), was......unsuited for withstanding a long siege......Sher compensated himself by seizing the fort of Rohtas four times larger and stronger than Chunar". Ibid, pp. 178-179.

nated on 18 May 1539, a month and ten days before the battle fought at Chausa on 26 June A. D. 1539. It seems improbable that in the hazardous Bengal situation created by the Mughal invasion the discerning and quick-witted Sher had the unwisdom to celebrate his coronation and strike coins at Gaur. Qanungo, on the basis of the coins of Sher Seah dated A. H. 945/A. D. 1538 discovered in Bengal, thinks that he was first crowned king at Gaur.[1] But Qanungo does not mention if the specimens of the 'Bengal coins' of Sher Shah carry any mint name or are mintless[2] pieces. Probably emboldened by the rebellion of Mirza Hindal at Agra and the increased distress of emperor Humayun who was at this time campaigning in Bengal Sher Khan on his safe retreat from Bengal to Rohtas first assumed kingship and struck coins in his name during A. D. 1538 not from Gaur but at Rohtas within the Qila Shergarh, a fort erected by him in the area, subsequently also coins of Sher Shah were issued from the mint at the Qila Shergarh. The coins of Sher Shah dated A. H. 945/A. D. 1538 found in Bengal seemingly appeared as legal tender in the area after its reconquest by him. His second coronation was celebrated after he reconquered Bengal in A. D. 1539 subsequent to the Battle of Chausa. Emperor Humayun withdrew towards Agra in the year A. H. 946/A. D. 1539. After the Battle of Chausa, Sher set out fiom the Fort of Rohtas with a large army to Bengal. And thereon defeat of the imperial army and slaying of Humayun's Governor, Jahangir Quli Beg, "he introduced the khutba and the coin after his own name, and brought the provinces of Bengal and Behar absolutely under his domination..... and that year devoting himself to the settlement of his kingdom, attained great power and pomp. At the end of the year, leaving Khizr Khan to rule over Bengal, he himself started for Agra."[3] The third and final crowning of Sher Shah occurred at Delhi sometime after his victory in the battle of Qanauj on 17 May A. D. 1540.

The Portuguese sources reveal that prior to his evacuation of Gaur, Sher had acquired a very large amount in gold. Campos : History of the Portuguese in Bengal (1919) p. 40; also HB, ii, p 167 n. 3.

1. Sher Shah & His Times (1965), pp. 189, 191.
2. Ibid.
3. Riyaz-us-Salatin (Salam's Tr.) pp. 143-145.

The bilingual Bihar coin of Sher Shah issued in A. H. 945/A. D. 1538 from the mint at the Qila Shergarh in Rohtas district of Bihar carries on the obverse the Kalimah within a square as well as the Arabic legend Assultan-ul-Adil Fariduddunya Waddin with the names of the four companions of the Prophet who became Caliphs and on the reverse side the Arabic legend Fariduddunya Waddin Abul Muzaffar Sher Shah Assultan Khaldallahu Malkahu along with the Nagari legend Sri Ser Sahi.[1] The reverse side also gives the date in numerals and the mint-name.[2] Another bilingual coin of the emperor bearing the same date and similar legends from the unqualified mint-name of Shergarh was in all probability manufactured at the Qila Shergarh mint of Bihar as it belongs to the type of coins 'with the single lined areas' ascribed to the fort of Shergarh constructed by Sher Shah in the Rohtas district of Bihar.[3] Edward Thomas does not refer to any coin of Sher Shah dated A. H. 945 issued from the Bengal mint.[4] In a brief note Thomas refers to a sliver coin of Sher Shah dated A. H. 945/A. D. 1538 similar in type to the bilingual coin of A. H. 949/ A. D. 1542 issued from the Shergarh mint in Bihar bearing on the reverse the legend Fariduddunya Waddin Abul Muzaffar Sher Shah Sultan Khaldallahu Malkhu in Arabic and Sri Ser Sahi in Nagari script.[5] Although Thomas rightly places the Shergarh mint in the Rohtas district of Bihar, he fails to locate it within the fortress of Shergarh built by the emperor

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But in view of the Bihar coins of Sher Shah dated A. D. 1538 from Qila Shergarh the statement of Salim "And from that time he assumed the title of Sher Shah" (Ibid, p. 144) is untenable. Also see, Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh of Badauni.

1. CMSD, No. 1040 A, p. 269, Pl. XXIV. Wt. 174 gns. S. 1.1.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., No 1340 B Pl. XXI. Wt. 166.3 gns. S. 1.1. Also, ibid., p. 386.
4. E. Thomas : The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi (Delhi : December 1967 - First Indian Edition) pp. 392-410. Also, E. Thomas : The Initial Coinage of Bengal (I) JASB, XXXVI, Nos. I-III, Pt. I (1867) p. 72.
5. CPKD, No. 346 p. 397 Fn.2. Wt. 176 grains. It belongs to a variety of his Kalimah type coins bearing names and titles of the four Caliphs and the Kalimah on the obverse.

and instead incorrectly identifies it with the fortress of Rohtas captured by Sher Shah.[1] This coin bearing the unqualified mint name of Shergarh was probably issued from the Qila Shergarh mint as it belongs to the series of coins 'with the single lined areas' struck at the fort of Shergarh. It appears from the Ain-i-Akbari that Shergarh was situated close to the Rohtas Fort in Bihar.[2] The fort of the same name built by the emperor in the Rohtas area was located here.

A silver Kalimah type circular coin of A. H. 942/A. D. 1535-36 bearing the legend "Sultan Sher Shah Khaldallahu Malkahu" and "al-Sultan-ul-Adil Abul Muzaffar Fariduddanya"[3] though indicative of his assumption of royalty and proclamation of sovereignty over the extent of territory under his control at the time, it is not suggestive of his being coronated on the date of its issue, that is, about four years prior to his victory or the defeat of the Mughal emperor Humayun at Chausa. Besides, a very small circular copper coin of A. H. 943/A. D. 1536-37 referring to him as "Sultan Sher Shah"[4] also manifests that he had assumed the royal status and the prerogative to issue coins long before his triumph in the Battle of Chausa against his principal Mughal rival. In the mediaeval period at times the public prayer (khutba) was recited and coin (sikka) struck in the name of a ruler without the coronation ceremony taking

1. Ibid., p. 397 fn. 1.
2. Ain-i-Akbari (Blochmann's Tr.) ed. D. C. Phillott, i, p. 437. The Ain refers to the conquest by Shahbaz the Mir Bakhshi in A. H. 984/A. D. 1576 of Shergarh, which was held by Sri Ram son of the rebel Raja Gajpati who was the greatest zamindar in Bihar and also to the occupation of Rohtas Fort by him about the same time from the Kararani Afghans.
3. S. C. Mishra : The Sikka and the Khutba - Sher Shahi Experiment, Medieval India, A. Miscellany, Vol. II, Aligarh, pp. 39-47. The coin weighed 167.63 grams and had a diameter of 2.875 cms. The name of the Sultan in the Devnagari script was not clearly visible. It also carried the name of the first four Caliphs.
4. Charles J. Rodgers : Supplement to Thomas's Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi, No. VI in JASB, 1896 (Pt. I) Vol. LXV, p. 214, No. 5 Plate III. Wt. 22 grains.

place simultaneously.[1] The acts of formal accession or coronation and striking of coin were not inseparable royal prerogatives. The numismatic pieces of A. H. 942 and A. H. 943 probably belong to the pre-coronation period. P. L. Gupta correctly remarks that these early coins "present no reason to think that he got coronated at this date".[2] Sher Shah was in all likelihood first coronated in A. H. 945/A. D. 1537-39 at the Qila Shergarh in the Rohtas district of Bihar. The coins issued from the mint at Qila Shergarh bears testimony to it. The inference is supported by the historical circumstances mentioned above. Then, the Qila Shergarh, a splendid fortified residential palace built by Sher Shah,[3] was an appropriate place for observance of the ceremony of crowning him as a monarch. The title of Sultan adopted by Sher Shah as early as A. D. 1535-36 was maintained by him at the time of his initial coronation at Qila Shergarh and the numismatic pieces struck in his name on the occasion and afterwards continued to bear the royal title of Sultan till his demise as the sovereign of north Indian territory extending from Sonargaon in the east or Bengal to Bhakkar in the west or Sindh. Of the numerous similar coins of Sher Shah appertaining to the year A. H. 945 in the collection of Patna Museum one bears the name and titles of "Al-Sultan Al-Adil" and "Fariduddunya Waddin Abul Muzaffar Sher Shah" followed by the expression "Khaldallahu Mulkahu" in Arabic and also refers to the emperor as Srî Sher Shahi in Devanagari.[4] During the same year coins bearing the titles of "Sher Shah Assultan and Khalifah al-zaman" were also issued.[5] there are coins

1. Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi by Abbas Khan Sarwani (B. P. Ambashtya's Eng. Tr.) Patna 1974, p. 482 n. 13b.

2. P. L. Gupta : Presidential Address to the AIOC (Jubilee Session) History Section, Jadavpur University, October 1969 quoted in Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi (Ambashthya's tr.) p. 483 n. 13b.

3. Comprehensive History of Bihar, Vol. II, Pt. I, pp 509-510.

4. Rama Shankar Avasthy : The Mughal Emperor Humayun (Allahabad 1967) p. 307 fn. 48. The title "Al-Sultan Al-Adil" is missing in the coin legend given by B. P. Ambashthya on the basis of typescript of Avasthy's work. Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi (Ambashthya's tr) pp. 406-407 n. 14.

5. CMSD, p. 323 No. 1257. Copper, Wt 81.5 grains; S. .55".

of the year A. H. 947/A. D. 1540-41 referring to him as "Sultan-ul-Adil Sher Shah" and "Assultan Khalifat-uz-zaman".[1]

There are no known coins of Sher Shah from the Bihar mints subsequent to A. D. 1545, and presumably the complete lack of Bihar coins of his successors is to be attributed to theirdiscontinuing the coining of money from Bihar.

It is not reliably known if the Karrani or Kararani Afghan rulers issued coins from Bihar. There are no coins of the Bengal Sultan chiyasuddin Jalal Shah pertaining to the years A. H. 971/A. D. 1563 and A. H. 972/A. D. 1564.[2] Therefore, Suliaman Karrani's rule probably commenced sometime in A. H. 970/A. D. 1565. There are silver coins of Daud Shah, the last Karrani ruler of Bengal-Bihar, struck from the Bengal mint of Tanda between A. H. 980/A. D. 1572 and A. H. 984/A. D. 1576[3]. But a circular silver coin of the last independent Afghan King of Bihar and Bengal dated A. H. 975/A. D, 1567 and with unapparent mint-name bears the Arabic legend '......uddunya Waddin Abul Muzaffar Daud Shah Bin Sulaiman Shah Karrain (or Kararani) Khaldallahu Malakhu Wa Sultanahu" and the legend "Sri Daud Shah" in Nagari characters.[4] Thus there is no

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1. Ibid., No. 1258-59. Wt. 45.5 grains; 39.5 grains, S. .55". An inscription dated A. H. 950/A. D. 1543-44 from Rohtas in Bihar grandiloquently refers to him as "Hazrat Sultan-us-Salatin ..... Hazrat Sher Shah". EIM (1923-24) p. 27 plate XIII (b). Also, Q. Ahmad, Corpus of Arabic & Persian Inscription of Bihar (A. H. 640-1200) pp. 134-139, Plate 26 (d),

2. Numismatic Digest V (December 1981) Pt. II, pp. 49-50.

3. A. H. Siddiqui : Two Silver Coins of the Sultans of Bengal, Numismatic Digest, Vol. V (December 1981) Pt. II, p. 50 n. 2. Tanda was situated 'opposite Gaur, on the right side of the Ganges'.

4. Ibid, p. 50 & photo. The coin of Daud Shah Karrani dated A. H. 975 weighs 11.95 gms and has a diameter of 3.00 cms. It carries the Kalimah and the names of the first four Caliphs. Blochmann mentions about "...Abul Mazaffar Daud Shah" that "his full name appears on the margin of his coinage, of which specimens are numerous; but all rupees that I have seen, had the margin cut away". JASB (1875) XLIV, p. 305,

testimony of known coins struck in Bihar to suggest that mints of the Karrani rulers were at work in the region.[1]

Reader in History
(Magadh University Service)
S. M. D. College Pun Pun (Patna)

55. R. C. Majumdar's presumption, "Sulaiman agreed, to issue coins in Akbar's name and to have the Khutba read in his name too" is neither based on numismatic evidence nor clearly supported by the chronicles. R. C. Majumdar : History of Mediaeval Bengal (Calcutta 1973) p. 73.

The Riyaz-us-Salatin of Ghulan Husain Salim says, "..... though Sulaiman Khan continued the khutba and the coin after his own name in the kingdom of Bengal, he styled himself Hazrat Ala······, and outwardly showing submission to Jalaluddin Muhammad Akbar Badshah, he sent occasionally presents and gifts". RS (Salam's Tr.) p. 153. The Tabaqat–i–Akbari of Nizamuddin Ahmad states, "Sulaiman Karrani······,the ruler of Bengal and Bihar,·· ···had always in his letters acknowledged himself a vassal of the imperial thron". HIED (The Tabaqat-i–Akbari of Nizamuddin Ahmad, Bakhshi) Calcutta 1952, ii, p. 49.

Abul Fazl states, "Sulaiman wished at all hazards to be at peace with Akbar". Ain-i-Akbari of Abul Fazal Allami (H. Blochmann's Eng. Tr.) Ed. D. C. Phillott, Calcutta 1977, i, p. 395.

Badauni writes, "Sulaiman Afghan Kararani... from the time of Islam Shah had held the district of Bengal and become quite independent. Muntakhad-ut-Tawarikh (Lowe's tr.) Patna 1973, ii, p. 176.

R. C. Majumdar's another assertion, "Bayazid during his short rule had disowned the suzerainty of Akbar and struck coins in his own name", and "he also had the Khutba read in his name" is also unsupported by the available historical information and numismatic evidence. Majumdar, HMB, p. 75. The statement of Ghulam Husain Salim that Bayazid Khan, assuming the sovereignty, ascended the throne of Bengal" probably implies only his immediate succession as the ruler of Bengal-Bihar after Sulaiman's death. For Salim's statement, RS (Salam's Tr.) p. 153.

Some Rare Aspects of the Archaeological Discoveries in Bihar*

SITA RAM ROY

As elsewhere in India, Bihar is also in possession of the earliest relics of the human activities represented by palaeolithic chipped stone tools, such as, hand axes, scrapers and cleavers generally made of quartzite and belonging to the pleistocene Man; our survey has located these earliest human implements in abundance in both north and south Chotanagpur and Santhal Parganas divisions and in considerable quantities in the districts of Monghyr, Bhagalpur, Gaya, Nawadah and Nalanda. Of our numerous Early Stone Age finds[1] from Rajrappa (District Hazaribagh), Jaida and Lotapahar of the river valleys of Suvarnarekha and Sanjay respectively (district Singhbhum), Kurumgarh (district Ranchi), Vanganga valley near Rajgir (district Nalanda), Jethian (district Nawadah) and the Man river-bed of Kharagpur hills (district Monghyr), the result of the last mentioned place is very much striking. At this site palaeoliths, which were met with, included only hand-axes, scrapers, flakes and cores on grey or pink-coloured quartzite with an advanced Acheulian character and hardly represented any cleaver, although the region is forested throughout. The reported finds, represented by a few Acheulian handaxes from the hill tops close to the left bank of Rajjan and some handaxes associated with other tools but with-

* Read as the Presidential Address in the Archaeological Section of the Indian History Congress held at Goa (1987).

1. *Indian Archaeology—A Review* (1959-60, 1960-61, 1961-62, 1965-66); *Annual Report of the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute*, Patna (1960); *Comprehensive History of Bihar*, Vol. I, Part I, Patna, 1974, pp. 154-156; A. H. Dani, *Pre-history and Proto-history of Eastern India* (Calcutta, 1960).

out cleavers, of the same assemblage from a local section of rock-rubbles resting on weathered phylite, deserve special mention. It may be stressed that such forested hilly sites as preserve the earliest relics of human activities without or with extreme scarcity of cleavers at their surface are rare within the pre-independence boundaries of our country and naturally are of great interest. Hitherto available reports also include the information about the location of a few rock-shelters of the early Man near Sherghati in the district of Gaya; undoubtedly this information is interesting, because it reflects the possibility of coming into light other such examples in the hilly regions of the State for which the archaeological explorers of Bihar are now vigilant.

The Middle Stone Age tools of Bihar[2] cover considerably numerous localities traceable in the districts of Ranchi, Lohardaga, Palamau, Hazaribagh, Giridih, Dhanbad, Singhbhum, Monghyr, Bhagalpur, Nalanda, Gaya and Nawadah and representing different types of artefacts, show close similarity to their counterparts of the Madras industry. The scrapers on quartzite, picked up from the Ganjapahar region of the district of Dhanbad, Chainpur of the district of Ranchi and the locality near the dam-site of Bhimbandh of the district of Monghyr deserve special mention; these antiquities alongwith points on phylite found at the last mentioned site are of great interest because of their varied types.

We know from the results of the archaeological explorations and excavations of the different sites of the State that the people of Bihar during the time of the Late Stone Age[3] were under the regular process of cultural development. Of the numerous discovered microlithic sites, a few with undoubted characteristics are noteworthy : Chaibasa, Chakradharpur, Lotapahar, Dhalbhum and Bongara of the district of Singhbhum, Marvania and Pratappur in the district of Palamau, Bhimbandh in the district of Monghyr, Kuchajharia, Barwe, Chainpur, Nawagaon etc. in

2. *ibid.*

3. *Comprehensive History of Bihar*, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 156-159; *Indian Archaeology—A Review* (1959-60, 1960-63, 1965-66); A. H. Dani, *op. cit.*

the district of Ranchi, Berhait and Sahebganj in the district of Sahebganj, Lalpur, Malakpur, Namsukh, Kothi and Oriup in the district of Bhagalpur, Sonpur in the district of Gaya and Chirand in the district of Saran from which many a microlithic tool, both non-geometric and geometric on chert, chalcedony, agate and crystal were reported; geometric tools were generally represented by lunates, burins and points. Microlithic specimens, both non-geometric and geometric, picked up unassociated with any ceramic industry from the regular strata as a result of archaeological excavations at Lotapahar are worthnoting.

Of the relics of the neolithic Man, discovered from the different sites of Bihar[4] and represented by lithic, bone and ceramic specimens, a few are very much striking. Lithic tools were generally manufactured on trap under the then techniques of chipping, pecking or hammering and grinding; the bone specimens were the result of the last mentioned technique alone. Hitherto we have been able to trace the neolithic relics in the regular stratigraphic sequence at least at two sites, viz., Chirand in the district of Saran and Taradih in the district of Gaya. The neolithic artefacts, collected as a result of explorations, represented lithic celts, and polished roller from Chakradharpur, Lotapahar, Chandil, Bhimbandh and Bongara; bar-chisel and thin sectioned broad axes from Santhal Parganas, miniature specimens of faceted implements on jadeite from Lohardaga; shouldered hoe from Rajgir and screwdriver-shaped tool from Singhbhum, and excavations yielded lithic celts, hammers, pestles, querns, balls etc. usually made on quartzite, basalt and granite from Chirand and adzes, pestles, ground stone and fire producing stone from Taradih. Of the evidences at Chirand, picked up from a 3.5 m. thick neolithic deposit the bone examples were most striking and unparallel among the so far discovered neolithic complexes in the country and abroad. The speciality of the neolithic bone tools of Chirand was that they were made mostly on antlers in varied types which included celts, scrapers, chisels, hammers, needles, points, borers, awls, diggers, shaft,

4. *Comprehensive History of Bihar*, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 159-164; *Indian Archaeology—A Review* (1956-57, 1959-73, 1983-84, 1986-87); A. H. Dani, *op. cit.*

straightner, etc. Besides, the examples on other bones, though negligible in quantity, were also met with; these represented pins, styli, tanged and socketed arrow-heads, a shoulder bone of an ox probably used as a shovel along with many an unfinished tool. The associated microliths represented arrow-heads, parallel-sided blades, serrated points, notched blades, points, borers and a few geometric examples usually made on chalcedony, chert, agate, jasper etc. Not only these, the neolithic beads of Chirand also deserve special mention; these examples, like microliths, were also manufactured on chalcedony, chert, agate, jasper etc. The unearthed evidences showed their varied shapes, such as, long tabular, long barrel, short barrel, cylindrical, triangular and disc-shaped. Tarracotta objects, picked up from the neolithic level at Chirand, included, humped bull, birds, *nāgas*, bangles, beads, balls and punctured decorated objects.

The excavations also revealed that the neolithic people of Chirand had their settlement on the ancient alluvial deposit of the Gaṅgā and lived in circular dwellings made of wild reeds or bamboos; the discovered burnt chunks of clay with impression of reed or bamboo bore testimony to this fact. The walls of these neolithic dwellings usually measured 75 cms. wide and 1.25 m. high. In this context it is worth noting that at this level we came across a circular floor, about four metres in diameter, having series of open hearths, a few post-holes nearby and some burnt chunks with reed or bamboo impressions.

The discovery of charred rice, wheat, moong, masoor, barley, a few burnt clay pieces with paddy husk impression, bones of animals, birds, fish-scales and remains of snails clearly reflected the food habits of the then people of Chirand who ate aforesaid cereals and were non-vegetarian. Besides, the occurrence of the bones of elephant, rhinos, buffalo, ox, stag and deer at the neolithic strata of this site are indicative of the association of these animals with the contemporary mass.

The neolithic strata at Chirand may be ascribed to about 2000 B.C. on the basis of the fact that the lowest chalcolithic level of the site was dated by C 14 to about 1650 B. C.

A cultural deposit of only 60 to 70 cms. thick at Taradih showed undoubtedly promising results by presenting a clear picture of neolithic complex. Besides the stone implements, referred to above, the arrow-heads and points of bone and beads and animal figurines of terracotta are worth noting. A few hearths of different shapes and sizes, located at this level, deserve special mention, the large hearths were presumed to have been used for the then community kitchen.

The neolithic ceramic examples, unearthed from the regular strata at Chirand and Taradih were both hand-made and wheel-turned and had coarse to medium fabric. The evidences from Chirand showed that the wheel-turned specimens were very rare. No doubt, the red ware industry predominated, but the examples of grey, pale-yellow, black-and red and black wares were not altogether lacking. Grey ware pots had lustrous burnishing on their exterior and their interior was generally hard-brushed and rough. The varieties in types in all the aforesaid wares reflected clear advancement in the ceramic art of the period. Types included vases, bowls and other vessels in different shapes; some examples of vases were broad-mouthed and narrow necked, a few of them were spouted and again some showed rusticated bases; similarly a few specimens of bowls were plain, others of them were lipped, some showed perforations, a few had footed bases, some were broad lipped oval, a few examples had stand and a very few were begging specimens. Besides, footed cup, channel spout, miniature pot, spoon or ladle, a knobbed sherd (type inascertainable) and a miniature hand made dish in red ware with double perforation on four cardinal points representing a toy balance. The applique on the neck portion of the vase wrapped the luting of the neck with the profile. Mention may be made of the specimens with mat-impressions and graffiti marks, picked up from this level. Examples with applique, notch-designs and engravings were also encountered at this level. Besides, painted specimens, slipped and plain sherds were not lacking. A few blackish grey ware bowls and some black-and-red ware sherds and rare ware examples, found from this level, showed post-firing paintings in ochre colour; common painted designs were represented by criss-cross, concentric semi-circles, wavy lines and dots. The evidences unearthed

from Taradih, represented mainly hand made specimens and rarely wheel-turned examples. The lower phase of this level yielded hand made evidences of both burnished and plain sherds in red ware; pottery types, so far detected, were vases, bowls and jars. Numerous sherds with cord-impression, picked up from the early neolithic level of Taradih, also deserve mention. The upper neolithic phase of the site was distinguished by the discovery of the grey ware specimens, although the red ware industry of the earlier phase also continued. Like the red ware, the grey ware also presented both burnished and plain examples of vases, bowls, jars, etc.

So far as the chalcolithic personality of Bihar is concerned it presented a vivid picture on the basis of the evidences available from at least hitherto discovered five sites, viz., Sonpur and Taradih in the district of Gaya, Chirand in the Saran district, Oriup of the district of Bhagalpur and Chechar in the district of Vaiśālī.[5] The excavations at Sonpur aud Chirand revealed that the chalcolithic people of the concerned localities had their dwellings made of mud-plastered reeds or bamboos as was evidenced by the discovery of clay-chunks with the impressions of such materials. At Chirand we had 5.50 m. chalcolithic deposit which showed a few post holes, and a circular hearth at its earliest level, and the floors of the dwellings were of burnt earth. The chalcolithic dwellings at Chirand, although their plan was inascertainable due to limited operations, seemed much bigger in size than those of their local predecessors, i. e. neolithic settlers. The excavations at Sonpur revealed 3.65 m. chalcolithic deposit which exposed line floors with circular pits of varying diameters between 1.84 and 2.44 metres and of maximum depth of eight centimetres; these pits, containing ash and bones of animals and birds, clearly presented the plan of the dwellings of the contemporary people. At Taradih we came across the chalcolithic remains of successive floors and open mouthed cooking hearths.

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5. *Indian Archaeology—A Review* (1956, 1959-65, 1968-71, 1972-73, 1981-87); *Sonpur Excavations* 1956 *and* 1959-62, Patna, 1977; *Puratattva*, No. 4; *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Vol. LVIII; Patna University Journal, Vol. 23.

It is worth noting that the occurrence of copper objects was negligible, a few small corroded fragments from Sonpur and Chirand, one bead from Chirand, one bangle from Oriup and an ear-ring, an arrow head, a fish-hook and a bangle from Taradih deserve special mention in the present context.

The microliths, picked up from the chalcolithic level of the aforesaid excavated sites, included cores, waste-flakes, blades and many a small nodule on chert, chalcedony, carnelian and quartz.

The other associated antiquities found from the chalcolithic strata at Sonpur, Chirand and Taradih, included objects of bone, ivory, terracotta and stone. Bone objects were represented by tanged and socketed arrow-heads with circular or square section, pins and styli of different sizes; ivory specimens also showed styli and arrow-heads; among terracotta examples mention may be made of pear-shaped and incised beads; and other stone finds included beads on steatite and chalcedony in considerable numbers, balls, pestles, querns and a few neolithic celts.

The detection of post-cremation pit-burials at the chalcolithic level of Sonpur and a suspected such burial at the same level of Chirand was very much striking. These burials of Sonpur were ninety one centimetres deep and had varied diameters between 1.82 and 2.12 metres and their contents included ash, charred bone pieces, sherds of black, red and black-and-red wares, and one of the burials had one hand made jar containing five kilograms of charred rice. All these reflected some aspects of the society of the chalcolithic people of Bihar that they produced rice, burnt deads and buried their charred bones in post-cremation burials.

It is worthwhile to mention that the ore and slags of iron were picked up from the topmost stratum of the chalcolithic level at Sonpur and the objects of the same metal were detected at the contemporary layers of Chirand.

The chalcolithic ceramic industry of Bihar was represented by both hand-made and wheel-turned potteries of which the kiln-burnt, plain and painted specimens in black-and-red, black, grey and red wares were

picked up from the regular contemporary strata. The discovered sherds showed that they were made of sandy earth and had porous sections. The sherds picked up from the early chalcolithic level of Sonpur were so fragmentaries that their shapes could not be ascertained, while the contemporary specimens from Chirand and Taradih showed varied types which included dish-on-stand, bowl-on-stand, long-necked jar, lipped bowl, basin, bowls-on-ring base, spouted vessel, four legged or ring based perforated pots, lipped jug, trough, dish, bowl and elongated lipped bowl in black-and-red wares, three-legged perforated bowls in red ware and high necked and corrugated shouldered water pots in black slipped and black-and-red wares. The bowls and dishes of Chirand were painted in white on their black surface and the vases from that site showed painting in creamy white on their necks and shoulders; the painted designs were represented by groups of dashes or wavy or straight lines. A few examples in the black ware had also painted designs in white. Besides, there were some other worthwhile painted sherds which were represented by a red-slipped shoulder portion with creamy dots, a red ware sherd with black lineal paintings, two black rims with dark creamy lines and parallel dots and a fragmentary white painted channel spouted bowl in black and-red ware, Besides, the stem of the dish-on-stand of Chirand was both plain and corrugated and a few fragments of the black-and-red-ware of Sonpur had incisions and groovings below the rim.

It may be stated that the chalcolithic complexes of Bihar showed a somewhat affinity with those of Ahar and Gilund in Rajasthan. The earliest chalcolithic level at Chirand was dated by radio carbon 14 to about 1650 B. C. (3600±100 B. P.) while that at Sonpur has been ascribed to about 1100-650 B. C.

Our field researches of historical sites could locate at Vaiśālī (District Vaisali, North Bihar) the very *stūpa* which was built over the Lichchhavi share of the corporeal relics of Gautama Buddha just after his *mahāparinirvāṇa* in the fifth century B. C.[6] The most important feature of this Buddha-relic *stūpa* was represented by *āyakas* or *āyakapaṭas*, i. e.,

6. *JBRS*, Vol. LIII, pp. 70-71; *Vaiśālī Excavations*—1958-62, pp. 16-23.

rectangular holy platforms, at all the four cardinal points in all its enlargements built of burnt bricks. Since the original *stūpa* was built of mud, the *āyakapaṭas* associated with it could not be traced. Hitherto such *āyakapaṭas*, much later in dates than those at Vaiśālī, formed the distinguishing feature of the *stūpas* at Amarāvatī, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa etc. of Andhra Pradesh where the concerned epigraphs expressly describe them as *āyakapaṭas*. These *āyakapaṭas* were unknown to northern or western India till our discovery of this Buddhist relic *stūpa* at Vaiśālī. This discovery revealed that the idea of building *āyakapaṭas* with the *stūpa* originated in the land associated with activities of Gautama Buddha itself where Buddhist *stūpas* are also known to have been built first.[7]

Our another remarkable discovery belonging to the early historical period, was that of the Painted Grey Ware from Vaiśālī in association with the N. P. B. Ware. Till now this ware was picked up from the pre-N. B. P. level and traceable not beyond the east of Kauśāmbī (U. P.); naturally our discovery showed its continuity even in early historical period along with the N. P. B. ware extended its eastern limit up to Vaiśālī (north Bihar). No doubt, the discovered sherds of the ware, although coarse in fabric and only seven in number, were vere good specimens. The leaf-design on one of the examples showed very close affinity to that found on the P. G. W. sherds from Panipat and Śrāvastī. Of our discovered specimens, six looked quite similar to their counterparts found at Kauśāmbī.[8]

Next, the historical archaeology at Patna corroborates the fact, mentioned in the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali, that Pāṭaliputra was situated on the bank of the river Sona, because our excavations have exposed throughout such a layer in the Maurya-Śuṅga level as contained only yellow sand found in the river Sona. Further, the reference to the wooden fortification of Pāṭaliputra, recorded in the account of Megasthenes, was corroborated by the discovery of wooden palisade from the Mauryan strata at different spots along the then boundary of Pāṭaliputra.

7. *ibid.*
8. *Vaiśālī Excavations*—1958-62, pp. 40-41.

Besides, efforts were made to trace the location of Aśokārāma *Vihāra*, where, according to the *Dīpavaṁśa* and *Mahāvaṁśa*, the third Buddhist council was held under the presidentship of Mogaliputta Tissa in the seventeenth regnal year of Aśoka, which lasted for nine months and one thousand monks participated in it.[9] The Buddhist records preserve information that the Aśokārāma *Vihāra*, a monastery in Pāṭaliputra built by Aśoka in three years, had a superintending officer (*Indagutta*) to look after its management.[10] It was here that sixty thousand monks were fed daily by the king.[11] All these descriptions undoubtedly reflect that it was a great monastic establishment and its site naturally would have continued to possess monastic buildings in succeeding ages also. In the early seventies we made an intensive survey within the limit of ancient Pāṭaliputra and came to the conclusion that the antiquarian remains of the site of the Mauryan eightyfour pillared hall[12] (eighty pillars in the hall proper and four at the entrance), exposed at Kumrahar, represented the site of the then Aśokārāma *Vihāra* and subsequently a small paper of this author on this, entitled "Venue of the Third Buddhist Council", was published in the Journal of the Bihar Research Society[13] in 1974. Needless to say that no scholars have yet put forward any criticism against our proposition. In this regard our humble views are as follows :—

The aforesaid eightyfour pillared hall without reflecting any administrative character bore clear testimony to its being a big monastic establishment. The hall was probably an open building all around without any boundary wall; this characteristic suits it to have been a religious congregational hall, because had it been an administrative building, it should have had a surrounding wall in order to maintain privacy of the conversation among royal officers. The hall being 16644 square feet (146′ × 114′) in area, could conveniently accommodate more than one

9. *DPVS*, VIII 34 sq; *MHVS*, V. 268 sq.
10. *SP*, I, 48-9.
11. *MHVS*, V, 80, 163, 174, 236, 276.
12. *Kumrahar Excavations* 1951-55.
13. *JBRS*, Vol. LX, 1974, pp. 11-13.

thousand people for their congregational discussion. Secondly, the archaeological operations at Kumrahar have not yet brought to light from any stratum any remains which could reflect administrative character, whereas monastic remains with epigraphic evidence, exposed at the site, bore sufficient testimony to its being a monastic site in the succeeding periods also. In the present context two terracotta sealings, found in association with structural evidences, one picked from Kuṣāṇa level and other unearthed from the Gupta layer, deserve special mention. The Kuṣāṇa specimen read *Saghasa* which means of 'of the Saṃgha' and the Gupta example read "*Arogyavihāra bhikṣu saṃghasya*" which means "seal of the monastic community in a sanatorium-cum-monastery". Besides, the Kuṣāṇa sealing had a plan of a building on its upper half which clearly stood for a *vihāra*, while the Gupta sealing possessed a tree, possibly representing the Bodhi tree, and a conch on either side of the tree.[14] Needless to say that these sealings along with their associated structural remains vividly bore their monastic character. Not only these, even other monastic remains, exposed at Kuṣāṇa and Gupta levels, were identified on the bases of their plans and other associated characteristics.

Let us cast a cursory glance on the epigraphical discoveries of which a few specimens of remarkable historical value were hitherto unknown and hence they deserve special mention in the present context. It is well known to the scholars that the State of Bihar is the custodian of many an epigraphical record beginning from its very inception, i. e., from the Mauryan times, to the eighteenth century. The most striking historical fact, revealed by the author as a result of the decipherment of photostat copy of a palm leaf Sanskrit manuscript, later on named *Suvarṇavarṇāvadāna*, brought from Tibet and preserved in the Bihar Research Society, Patna,[15] is represented by an information about a new minister (*amātya*) of king Ajātaśatru of Rājagṛha, named Prachaṇḍa. Till now we knew only Vassakāra and Sunīdha as the ministers of Ajātaśatru. The *Suvarṇavarṇāvadāna*, in question, preserves a detailed information about

14. *ibid.*

15. Sita Ram Roy, *Suvarṇavarṇāvadāna*, Patna, 1977.

Prachaṇḍa,[16] who was a very powerful and influential minister of his time. He could prevail upon other ministers and get things done according to his own sweet will, but he was not popular. The position of Prachaṇḍa among ministers, although not clearly mentioned in the aforesaid work, is reflected from the other details of his activities. Since Prachaṇḍa is referred to have led the party of ministers both to the royal court and to the cabinet or council of ministers, it may well be inferred that he must have been the prime minister at least defacto if not dejure. Prachaṇḍa is also said to have embraced Buddhism and became a recluse in his later life during the reign of Ajātaśatru himself when Ānanda was the head of the Buddhist Order after the demise of Buddha and Mahā Kāśyapa. This shows that the period of Prachaṇḍa's ministership lasted for about nine or ten years, if he was appointed a minister in the beginning of the reign of Ajātaśatru, because Buddha is referred to have attained *mahāparinirvāṇa* in his eighth regnal year[17] and Mahā Kāśyapa and Ānanda are also said to have died during his reign.[18]

The aforesaid manuscript, when completely deciphered and arranged, was known to have been an *avadāna* type of *Mahāyāna* text. Since the text nowhere records its name, it was named after its principal character Suvarṇavarṇa. Here it may be mentioned that this work was hitherto unknown to scholars. This manuscript was written in the eleventh century East Indian Script which may provisionally be named *Vartulu* or *Vaivarta* lipi.[19] It was discovered by Mahāpaṇḍita Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana at the Ṣalu monastery (near Si-ga-rtse) of Tibet where he could only take photograph of it along with several others. The discoverer brought those photostat copies of the concerned manuscripts to India and handed them over to the authorities of the Bihar Research Society, Patna where they are

16. *ibid*.

17. *Mahavastu*, ch. 2 (p. 12 of translation).

18. A legend, referred to by Hiouen-Thsang, informs that Ānanda expired during the time of a Magadhan king and some time after the demise of Buddha and Mahākāśyapa. The Magadhan king of the above mentioned legend was none but Ajātaśatru : Samuel Beal, *Travels of Hiouen-Thsaug*, Vol. III, pp. 315-16.

19. Cf. G. Roerich, *Biography of Dharmasvamin*, Patna, 1959, pp. III, IV, 50.

preserved. The list of these manuscripts, submitted by the Mahāpaṇḍita, mentions the manuscript, under review, as a *Mahāyāna Sūtra*.[20] In the present context it deserves mention that the aforesaid Tibetan Sanskrit manuscripts still require a band of scholars for their decipherment, which reveal many more new facts for the reconstruction of our history.

Another important discovery of the author was a terracotta sealing mentioning the name of Agnimitra, unearthed from the Śuṅga level at Vaiśālī,[21] it was grey coloured, circular with 1.75″ diameter and had legend in four lines in the Brāhmī script of the second century B. C. The legend, being partially missing, read :

L. 1. .... *Agimita,*
L. 2. (*sa*) *miyāye,*
L. 3. *Koṭha* (*ṭa*) *kārasa,*
L. 4. *Viṭhi* (*Vithi*),

The complete reading, probably, was :

L. 1. *Rāño Agimita,*
L. 2. *sa māmiyāye,*
L. 3. *Koṭha kārasa,*
L. 4. *Viṭhi*

The reconstructed legend meant :—(The seal of) the market or shop (owned by) the fort-commander or the store-officer who was a relation of king Agnimitra through the latter's maternal uncle.

On the basis of this sealing along with with other finds of the succeeding periods, it was inferred that their find-spot, which is popularly known as Rājā Viśāla Kā Garḥ, was an industrial spot throughout. Besides, the sealing, under review, revealed an interesting information that the same person who was a fort-commander or a store-officer, owned such as a big market as had a seal of its own. Further, it informs that a government officer could run a market or shop after his designation. Here

20. *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, XXI (1935), p. 40, serial no. 154.

21. *Vaiśālī Excavations* 1958-62, pp. 116-19.

it deserves mention that hitherto we have nowhere come across any reference to a market or shop named after the designation of a government officer. Our discoveries revealed that the so-called Rājā Viśāla Kā Garḥ was a market place or a commercial centre from its very beginning, i.e., from the third century B. C. and seems to have maintained the same status at least up to the time of the Guptas. In this context our following discussions are put forward for the consideration of the scholars. The site, in question, yielded no evidences which may take it to the time of Rājā Viśāla, a legendary figure, whose tenth discendant, Sumati, was contemporary of Rāma mentioned in the epic (*Rāmāyaṇa)* and the *Purāṇas*. Further the antiquities, unearthed from the site, were not in a position to ascribe it to a pre-Mauryan date. Besides, the structural remains and other related finds hardly associate the site, even indirectly, with any royal or administrative office. Even the evidences, obtained from the Gupta level, when Vaiśālī was possibly one of the administrative centres, did not come forward to reflect in any way the administrative character of the site. On the other hand, the discovered Gupta antiquities, especially represented by terracotta seals, sealings and tokens, characterised the site to have been a commercial centre. In this context the sealings, which had clear and high sounding commercial legend, i.e., *śreṣṭhi sārthavāha prathama kulika nigamaḥ*, meaning "guild or corporation of bankers, traders and merchants of high order", deserve special mention.[22] Since the structural remains, during the Gupta period, showed broken bricks in their construction, they professed to have been more for commercial purposes than for administrative ones owing to their association with commercial seals and sealings. Besides, the site, due to its present common proprectary character, seems to have been that very spot where the Lichchhavis probably held their annual fare. Till this site was not declared a protected one, it was the common property of the local people and it did not belong to one individual, so it is inferred that it must have been the common property of the Lichchhavi Saṅgha for holding their annual fare.

From the above details it may well be inferred that the site being a common place of the local mass developed into an industrial centre in

22. *ibid*, pp. 124-26.

course of time and maintained the same status till the time of the Guptas.[23] Since the archaeological discoveries from the site ascribed its human formation to a Mauryan date, it may be presumed that during the time of the Buddha or the prosperous days of the Lichchhavis, the site was a simple levelled ground and was used for the annual fare for centuries by their owners (Lichchhavis). By the time of the Mauryas its level was made high for the first time and thereafter other succeeding structural formations came into being as per necessity till the time of the Guptas, and it remained a commercial centre throughout as clearly evidenced by archaeological discoveries, specially by epigraphical ones.

The State of Bihar does not lag behind any State of India even in the numismatic discoveries. Here we shall deal only the most striking ones. Since no gold punchmarked coins have yet been reported from any part of the country, the two such specimens from Bihar[24] (one lying with the Patna University Museum and other reported from Bhabhua of the Rohtas district), even with doubtful genuineness, deserve re-examination by the expert. The next striking numismatic discovery is represented by the recently discovered hoard of 1986 copper punch-marked coins of heavy variety from Nurullahpur of the Begusarai district;[25] the hoard being one of the biggest in India and biggest in eastern India. Needless to say that these coins, when carefully studied from every view point, will undoubtedly make a thesis.

Further, the discovery of a gold coin of Huviṣka from Katra in 1976-77 is equally important, because no Kuṣāṇa coin was yet reported from this region and what to speak of the gold specimen.[26] Till now only copper Kuṣāṇa coins were reported not beyond the northern limit of

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23. *ibid.*
24. *Bihar : Past & Present* (Souvenir), K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna, 1987, pp. 97.
25. *ibid*, p. 105; the hoard, found by the local people was brought under the custody of the State Govt. of Bihar (Directorate of Archaeology) through the efforts of my colleague Shri Ram Shekhar Singh, Epigraphical Officer.
26. *Proceedings, Indian History Congress*, Bodh Gaya, 1981, pp. 667-68.

Vaiśālī and Chirand in north Bihar. The discovery of this specimen from Katra, besides extending the northern limit of Kuṣāṇa coins by about one hundred kilometres, reflected the possibility of the availability of such numismatic evidence at other sites of north Bihar near the border of Nepal.

Besides, of the hitherto reported nineteen copper Kuṣāṇa coins from Vaiśālī (North Bihar), although none was discovered from the Kuṣāṇa layer, still one belonging to Wima Kadphises, counter struck with Roman S–like symbol on its both obverse and reverse, deserves special mention in the present context.[27] The coin showed on its obverse king standing to left and Roman letter S–like symbol counter struck on his right foot, and the reverse had Śiva standing by the bull and S–like symbol counter struck on the front of the animal; the legend on this specimen was blurred. It is worthnoting that till the discovery of this coin from Vaiśālī, Indian numismatists were unknown to counter struck Kuṣāṇa coins reported from any part of the country. We know from the Khoresm excavations of Central Asia that such numismatic evidences were picked up from post-Kuṣāṇa strata.[28] The Khoresm excavations brought to light the counterstruck Kuṣāṇa coins with S–like symbol on both obverse and reverse from the post-Kuṣāṇa level datable to the Shiyavushid and Afrigid dynasties. P. L. Gupta is of opinion that this coin probably travelled to Vaiśālī through a trader or a Buddhist pilgrim.[29] The contention of Gupta is convincing because of the discovery of the specimen, under review, from the Gupta level. Besides, the availability of the coins of Kaniṣka and Huviṣka from the Gupta level at the same site adds to the above proposition. It is quite likely that the Kuṣāṇa coins including the counterstruck example travelled to Vaiśālī from elsewhere through some traders. The commercial seals and sealings of the Gupta times, unearthed from Vaiśālī from the contemporary strata clearly reflect that during the period under review,

27. *Vaiśālī Excavations*, 1958-62, p. 149.

28. *ibid*. (S. P. Tolstov's discussions on such coins in his Drevning Khoresm (pp. 108-110)—Information from Dr. P. L. Gupta).

29. *ibid*.

the site was a promising centre of commercial activities, where traders from different corners of the country were expected. The terracotta sealings with the legend "*śreṣṭhi sārthavāhaprathama kulika nigamaḥ*", unearthed from the Gupta strata and referred to above, deserve special mention in this regard.

Since no coins belonging to the Gupta rulers were picked up from Vaiśālī either through explorations of through excavations by any of the explorers or excavators of the site, the possibility of its being one of the administrative headquarters seems to have been quite doubtful. The contemporary structural remains, revealed by our archaeological operations, which showed only broken bricks in their construction, also corroborated the aforesaid contention.

Director
Archaeology, Bihar
Patna

Lost Buddhist Sanskrit MSS. of Bihar Discovered from Tibet

PT. JAGDISHWAR PANDEY

Mabāpaṇḍita Rahula Sankrityayana's discovery of Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts from Tibetan monasteries during the years 1929-30, 1934, 1936 and 1938 is one of the most important events of the 20th century in the history of discovery of Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts, because they contain many valuable Text-material of Buddhist-Sanskrit literature, Vinaya, logic, philosophy, religion etc, were lost long in Bihar. Rahulji's name will be cited with gratitude for centuries by the writers of Indian philosophy and Buddhism. He has published a complete list of the manuscripts discovered in Tibet, in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.[1] Besides the finding of many important MSS of Bihar, he also recovered MSS from different parts of India such as Kashmir, Orissa and South India. Apart from this he also recovered MSS from Nepal and Sri Lanka deposited in the Land of Snow. I shall mention about some of the important Sanskrit MSS of Bihar.

Rahulji made his journey for Tibet and reached there on 19th July, 1929. He stayed there for 15 months and after collecting a good number of Tibetan Texts, brought twenty-two mule-loads in 1930 which consists Chasa Bkaḥ-ḥgyur (Kanjur) and Sde-sge (Derge) Bstan-ḥgyur (Tanjur). Besides he also brought 1619 miscellaneous Tibetan Texts[2] which are preserved in the Bihar Research Society, Patna. Thañ-

1. Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna, Vols. XXI, Pt. I, pp. 21-43, 1935; XXIII, Pt. I, pp. 1-57, 1937; XXIV, Pt. IV, pp. 137-63, 1938.
2. The Catalogue of the Tibetan Texts in the Bihar Research Society, Patna, Vol. I, compiled by Sri Gopi Raman Chaudhary, published by the Bihar Research Society, Patna.

kas (Tibetan Painting) and other things like specimen of wooden block printed designs of the Xylographs, vajra, ḍamaru, ghaṇṭas, different types of Tibetan dress, musical instruments, small icons made of bronze and brass, wood and bones, prayer wheels, magic dagger, replica of the POTALA and Samya Vihāra etc. are preserved in the Patna Museum. In this journey he could collect only one Sanskrit palm-leaf manuscript written in *Kuṭila-lipi* of the 10th century A. D., *Vajra-ḍāka-tantra* which was deposited in the Patna Museum.

In 1934 Rahulji went to Tibet in search of Sanskrit MSS. In this journey he found XXXIX bundles of Palm-leaf MSS which contained 184 works.[3] He took photographs of some of them.

In 1936 he again visited Tibet third time and discovered 152 new Sanskrit works in the monasteries of Sakya, Ngor and Shalu which were of great value. In 1938 he went 4th time to the Land of Snow in search of Sanskrit MSS and discovered 33 Sanskrit works of great importance. Some of them are *Madhyānta-vibhaṅga-Kārikā*, *Dharma-dharmatā-pravibhāgā-sūtra*, *Tridaṇḍamālā* and *Parikathā*.[4]

Important Works from Bihar

VINAYA-TEXTS

1. Upasampadājñapti—It is related to higher initiation (*Upasampadā*) of the Buddhist monk. It is well known that the Buddha set before the saṃgha the highest ideal of monastic discipline which was divided into two parts. The lower initiation was called *pravrajyā* and higher is *upasampadā*. It is written in non-Pāṇinian popularly known as hybrid Sanskrit. It was discovered for the first time in original and published by the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute,[5] Patna.

3. JBORS, Vol. XXI, Pt. I, pp. 21-43, 1935.

4. JBORS, Vol. XXIII, Pt. I, pp. 1-57, 1937. and JBORS, Vol. XXIV. Pt. IV, pp. 137-63, 1938.

5. *Upasampadājñapti*, edited by Dr. B. Jinananda, Published by K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna, 1961.

2. *Vinaya-sūtra svavyākhyānam*[6]—This text of *Âryamūlasarvāstivādins* deals with the *pravrajyā-vastu* and some fragmentary portions of *adattādāna, Naiḥsargika-prāyaścittika* etc. was discovered for the first time in original Sanskrit.

3. *Sphuṭārthā-śrīghanācāra-saṃgraha-ṭīkā*[7] deals with the rules of conduct for the Buddhist novices, belongs to the Mahāsāṃghika-school, which obtained by Rahulji from the Ngor monastary in Tibet.

4. *Prātimokṣasūtra*[8]—The present text belongs to the *Lokottaravādi*-school of the *Mahāsāṃghika's*. It is written in the hybrid Sanskrit.

5. *Abhisamācārikā*[9]—This important text, unique of its kind and belonging to the *Lokottaravādi*-school of the *Mahāsāṃghikas* was discovered at Sha-lu, Tibet. The language is mixed Sanskrit of Vaishali area. It deals with minor rules to be observed by the Buddhists in the assemblies as well as in their daily life. It thus sheds much welcome light on a dark chapter of the religious and social history of India in general and of Bihar in particular.

6. *Bhikṣuṇī-vinaya*[10]—This text belongs to the *Âryamahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādi*-school, gives a manual of discipline for Buddhist nuns. The text is written in hybrid Sanskrit.

Adhyardha-śataka[11] of Matṛceṭa (1st Cen. A. D.). This text was recited every day at the Nalanda University. *Adhyardha-śataka* consists of 153 verses. Its author Mātṛceṭa was contemporary of Kanishka 1st century A. D. This has been published by the Bihar Research Society, Patna.

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6. *Vinaya-sūtra* edited by P. V. Bapat : V. V. Gokhale, K. P. J. R. I., 1982.
7. Sphuṭārthā-Śrīghanācārasaṁgrahaṭīkā edited by Dr. Sanghasen, K. P. J. R. I., Patna, 1968.
8. *Prātimokṣasūtra*—edited by Dr. N. Tatia; K. P. J. R. I., Patna, 1976.
9. *Abhisamācārikā*—edited by Dr. B. Jinanand, K. P. J. R. I., Patna 1969.
10. *Bhikṣuṇī-Vinaya*—edited by Dr. Gustav Roth, K. P. J. R. I.., Patna, 1971.
11. *Adhyardhaśataka*—edited by Rahul Sankrityayana and K. P. Jayaswal, Bihar Research Society, Patna, 1937.



Mahāpaṇḍita Rāhula Sānkrityāyana
(b.9 April 1893—d.14 April 1963)

Vigraha-vyāvartanī[12] of Nāgārjuna (2nd Cen. A. D.)—This text consists of 72 verses and author's own commentary in prose. Rahulji could not take its photo but he copied it in Tibet and published it in the JBORS, Patna. Afterwards it was printed separately from the Bihar Research Society, Patna.

I. *Abhisamayālaṅkāra-kārikā*, II. *Madhyānta-vibhaṅga Kārikā*, III. *Dharma-dharmatā-pravibhāgā-sūtra* of Maitreyanāthapāda.

Abhidharma-samuccaya[13] of Asaṅga—This text has been published by K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, along with its bhāṣya. It gives a good elucidation of the text and makes valuable addition to the existing Abhidharma literature. This MS was discovered in Ngor Monastery of Tibet.

Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra of Asaṅga—Ārya Asaṅga occupies a very important place in the history of Buddhist religion and philosophy. He belonged to the *Yogācāra vijñānavāda* sub-school propagated by Maitreyanāthapāda, commented upon and propagated the highly difficult texts written by the master In course of time, the existence of Maitreyanātha as a human being was forgotten and he was identified with the devine Maitreyanātha, an incarnation of Lord Buddha, living in the Tuṣita heaven. It is said that his grace made Ārya Asaṅga the promulgator and propounder of the *Yogācāra-vijñānavāda* philosophy. The Chinese tradition attributed the *Yogācārabhūmi śāstra* to Maitreyanathapāda. But the Tibetan tradition accepts it to be the work of Ārya Asaṅga. The Indian tradition agrees with that of the Tibetan. It was Maitreyanāthapāda who accepted the authenticity of the YBŚ written by Asaṅga himself. The YBŚ was studied through the length and breadth of India. There were three Chinese and one Tibetan translations of this text. The *Yogācāra-vijñānavāda* tradition is still living in China and Tibet through these translations. Foreign invasions in India were responsible for the demolition of the

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12. *Vigrahavyāvartanī* edited by K. P. Jayaswal and Rahul Sankrityayan, Bihar Research Society, Patna, 1937.

13. *Abhidharmasamuccayabhāṣya* edited by N. Tatia, K. P. J. R. I., Patna, 1976.

centres of Buddhist learning and the consequent loss of the original Sanskrit texts of the *Yogācāra*-School including those of Ārya Asaṅga.

Mahāpaṇḍita Rahul Sankrityayan discovered the original Sanskrit text of YBŚ in Tibet in 1936. The complete text was divided into three different MSS—one containing the fifteen bhūmis and the other two, the *Śrāvaka* and *Bodhisattva-bhūmis*. These MSS were written on palm-leaves in 10th-11th cen. A. D. and probably copied at Nalanda. Rahulji prepared tentative *Devanāgarī* copy of fifteen *bhūmis* only excluding the *Śrāvaka* and *Bodhisttvabhūmis* while in Tibet and later on procured photo-copies of all the three MSS along with a host of other important MSS, negative of which were placed at the disposal of the Bihar Research Society, Patna. The first five *bhūmis* were published in the Āshutosh Sanskrit Series, Calcutta University in 1957. Prof. Nalinaksh Dutta of the same University and Dr. Karunesh Sukla of the Gorakhpur University published the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* and *Śrāvakabhūmi* in 1966 and 1976 respectively, from the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna. The rest ten Bhūmis also have been edited by the writer of this article. This text has been acclaimed very important dealing with the origin and development of the *Yogācāra-vijñānavāda*-school up to the 4th century A. D. and the discovery of the original Sanskrit text is also memorable fact in the history of Sanskrit manuscriptology. It is fervently expected that the complete text will be accepted as a welcome addition to the existing literature of the *Yogācāra-vijñānavāda* discipline.

Abhidharma-Kośa-Bhāṣya and *Madhyānta-vibhāga-bhāṣya* of Vasubandhu (400 A. D.) :

Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya[14]—Asaṅga and Vasubandhu were two brothers of Puruṣapura (Peshawar) leading Buddhist authors of the Gupa period living at Nalanda University. From the time of Vasubandhu his *Abhidharma-kośa* along with its *bhāṣya* commanded great respect among the Buddhists and non Buddhists alike. In spite of its importance the Sanskrit original was long lost. This was the good fortune that Rahulji discovered this valuable MS from Tibet for the first time.

14. *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*—edited by P. Pradhan, K. P. J. R. I., Patna, 1967.

Madhyānta-vibhāga-bhāṣya[15]—*Mdhyāntā-vibhāga-Kārikā* is attributed to Maitreyanāthapāda along with its *bhāṣya* by Vasubandhu was long lost in original Sanskrit. Rahulji discovered it in Tibet.

Tarka-jvālā of Bhavya--This text was copied by Rahulji while in Tibet. Its author Bhavya was a scholar of Nalanda living in Gupta period (5th Cen. A.D.). He has refuted the views of the Naiyāyikas, Vedāntins etc. His Sanskrit verses are the unique example of the Gupta classical literature.

Dharmakīrti (c. 600 A. D.) and his works—Dharmakīrti was a distinguished Buddhist philosopher. His many works were so long known only from citations. Rahulji brought many works on which the reputation of Dharmakīrti rests, in original Sanskrit. They are namely (a) *Vāda-nyāya*, (b) *Pramāṇa-vārtika* (c) Commentary of Manoratha Nandin on PV. (d) Commentary by Karṇakagomin on PV. (e) Commentary by Prajñākargupta on PV.

(a) *Vāda-nyāya*—This complete text has been published by Rahul Sankrityayan in the JBORS, Vol. XXI-XXII, along with the commentary of Sāntarakṣita named *Vipañcitārtha-ṭīkā*.

(b) *Pramāṇavārttika*—The complete text has been printed in JBORS, Vol. XXIV (IV) Appendix 1, I.

(c) Another commentary on PV. by Manorathanandin *Prāmāṇa-vārttika-vṛtti* deals with each word of the PV. This text has been published in JBORS, Vols. XXV (I) Appendix 137, XXV (I) Appendix 177, XXV (III-IV) 261, XXVI, Pts. II-III.

(d) A commentary by Karṇakagomin on PV. published by Rahulji from Kitab Mahal, Allahabad.

(e) *Pramāṇa-vārttika-bhāṣya* by Prajñākara-Gupta. Prajñākara Gupta was famous *ācārya* of Nalanda (C. 700 A. D.). The present commentary covers three out of the four chapters of

15. *Madhyāntavibhāgabhāṣya* edited by Dr. N. Tatia and Prof. Anantlal Thakur, K. P. J. R. I., Patna, 1967.

the PV. Rahul Sankrityayan edited this work and published it in the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna, 1953.

PROFESSORS OF VIKRAMAŚĪLA UNIVERSITY

JITĀRI (C. 10th Cen. A. D.)

According to Tāranātha, Jitāri wrote about one hundred works on different branches of Buddhist Learning and was considered as one of greatest *paṇḍitas* of his time. Unfortunately only a few works of Jitāri are available now. Apart from his Tantra and *Sādhana* works, his works on Buddhist logic, namely, *Dharma-dharmi-viniścaya* and *Bālāvatāra-tarka* are available in Tibetan translations. *Hetutattvopadeśa* has both the Tibetan translation and its Sanskrit rendering. Besides these, *Jātinirākṛti* and *Anekāntavāda* or *Digaṃbaramata-parīkṣā* are available in Sanskrit. Rahulji discovered new works on logic which have no Tibetan translations. They are namely (1) *Apohasiddhi* (2) *Kṣaṇajabhaṅga* (3) *Sruti-kartṛsiddhi* (4) *Vedāprāmāṇyasiddhi* (5) *Sarvajñasiddhi* (6) *Vyāpakānupalambha* (7) *Nairātmyasiddhi* (8) *Jātinirākṛti* (9) *Iśvaravādimataparīkṣā* and (10) *Sahopalambha*. Jitāri was a great logician and professor of Vikramaśīla University.

RATNĀKARAŚĀNTI

Ratnākaraśānti was one of the 84 siddhas, called *Kalikālasarvajña*, He learnt the *sūtra* and the *tantra* at Vikramaśīla from Jittāri Afterwards he was appointed by the King Caṇaka to the post of *dvārāpaṇḍita* of the eastern gate of Vikramaśīla University. Rahulji discovered his works namely.

1. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajña-pārmitā-pañjikā-Sāratmā*[16]
2. *Nairātmyasādhana*
3. *Hevajrasādhanopayikā*
4. Auto-commentary of *Chandoratnākara* in Tibet in original Sanskrit.

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16. *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā Sartamā* edited by Dr. Padmanabha S. Jaini, K. P. J. R. I., Patna, 1979.

JÑĀNŚRĪMITRA

Jñānśrīmitra was counted most important scholars of Vikramaśīla University. Dīpaṅkaraśrījñāna is said to have sought his advice on esoteric matters. The Rahula collection contains his twelve tracts 1. *Kśaṇabhaṅgadhyāya* (2) *Vyāpticarcā* (3) *Bhedābhedaparīkśā* (4) *Anupalabdhicarcā* (5) *Sarvaśabdābhāvacarcā* 6) *Apohaprakaraṇa* (7) *Īśvaravāda* (8) *Kāryakāraṇabhāva-siddhi* (9) *Yoginirṇayaprakaraṇam* (10) *Advaitabinduprakaraṇam* (11) *Sākārasiddhiṣāstra* and (12) *Sākārasaṅgrahasūtra.* There are based on different topics. Some are purely logical; others are epistemological; others are metaphysical. The rest may be called "Theological" and some treatises concern the transcendetal intuition of the *yogins,* the identity of knowledge and its object and the transcendental body of the Buddha. All the tracts have been published by the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute,[17] Patna.

RATNAKĪRTI

Ratnkīrti was a great logician in the Vikramaśīla University. His ten tracts are found in the Rahul Collection. They are (1) *Sarvajñasiddhi* (2) *Īśvarasādhana duṣaṇa* (4-5) *Kṣaṇabhaṅgasiddhi (anvaya & vyatireka)* (3) *Aposiddhi* (6) *Pramāṇāntarbhāva* (7) *Vyāptinirṇaya* (8) *Sthirosiddhidūṣaṇa* (9) *Citrādvaitaprakāśavāda* and (10) *Santānāntaradūṣaṇa.* The tracts were never translated into Chinese or Tibetan and thus opened a new vista of investigation to the students of Indian philosophy. They contain quotations from rare and extinct works of importance and supply us new information regarding some authors of repute. They have been printed as Ranakīrtinibandhāvali.[18]

DURVEKAMIŚRA

The philosophical school of interpretation on Dharmakīrti's works started with Dharmottara. The *Dharmottarapradīpa*[19] of Durvekamiśra

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17. *Jñānaśrīmitranibandhāvali*—edited by Prof. Anantalal Thakur, K. P. J. R. I., Patna, 1959., 2nd Edn. 1987.
18. *Ratnakīrtinibandhāvali*—edited by Prof. Anantalal Thakur, K. P. J. R. I., Patna, 1957, second Edn., 1975.
19. *Dharmottarapradīpa* edited by Dalsukhabhai Malavaniya, K. P. J. R. I., Patna, 1955, 2nd Edn. 1971.

on Dharmottara's commentary now avilable in Rahul collection was quite unknown. *Hetu binduanuṭīkā*, another work of the same author is found in the Rahul collection.

OTHER WORKS

Besides these works *vādarahasya, tarkarahasya, āgamaprāmāṇya-nirāsa* are found in the Rahul Collection without author as the MSS are incomplete. Apart from this Śaṅkaranandana's *Pratibandhasiddhi-kārika, Apohasiddhīkārika, Sūkṣma prāmāṇyākārikā, madhyaprāmāṇyakā-rikā, bṛhatprāmāṇyakārikā, Laghupratibandha Siddhikārikā, anyāpoha-siddhikārikā, Dharmālaṅkārakārikā, Prajñālaṅkārakārikā, Sarvajña Siddhi-kārikā, Svalpa-sarvajñasiddhi-kārikā, Īśvarāpākaraṇa, Īśvarāpākaraṇasaṃ-kepa, Āgamasiddhi-kārikā*, are being edited.

Besides *Pañcakramādi* of Nāgārjuna, *Hevajraṭīkā, Guphyasamā-japradīpodyotanaṭīkā-Ṣaṭkoṭivyākhyā, Herukābhidhāna Sādhana pañjikā, Cāndravyākaraṇaṭīkā,*[20] *Prajñāpāramitāpiṇḍārtha-ṭīkā (navaślokī)* of Kambalapāda, *Amarakośa-ṭīkā (Kāmadhenu)* of Subhūticandra, *Vanaratna Stotra, Aparimitāyn-stotra, Ekallavīrastotra, vajrasūcī* etc. are important MSS of Bihar discovered by Mahāpaṇḍita Rahul Sankrityāyan in Tibet.

Research Fellow-cum-Asstt. Director
K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute
Patna.

20. *Guhyasamājatantrapradīpodyotanaṭīkāṣaṭkoṭivyākhyā* edited by Prof. Chintaharan Chakravarti, K. P. J. R. I., Patna, 1984.

Leftist Movement in Bihar (1912-1952)

VIJOY KUMAR

Before coming to the leftist movement we would like to throw some light or reflection on the year 1912.[1] The year 1912 marks a turning point in the history of Bihar for a variety of reasons. The year saw the birth of Bihar as a separate province and Charles Bayely became its first Lieutenant Governor. The 27th Congress was held at Patna in that year. The political awakening was seen in a greater degree. The Seventh Bihari Students Conference held at Motihari on the 13th-14th October, 1912 passed several social and political resolutions. The Bihar Patrika in its issue of 4th November, 1912 published a Hindi poem. The refrain of which was "The Bengalis get everything by striking with bombs and revolvers, the Biharis should therefore do the same".[2] In the new glow of political awakening the questions related to indigo ceased to be local in their importance. It began to engage the attention not only of the Governments but also of the Indian Press and public, even outside the limits of the Province. The separation of Bihar from Bengal provided opportunities to the administration to look into the indigo question from a closer distance.

Since 1912 the Indian National Congress dominated the political scene in Bihar and in India. At that times there were no separate left groups in Bihar who believed in the Leftist ideology.

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1. For details see, The Creation of Modern Bihar—Choudhary, Dr. V. C. P.; Freedom Movement in Bihar, Dutta, Dr. K. K.; Peasant Uprisings and Mahatma Gandhi in North Bihar, Mittal, Dr. S. K.
2. Government of Bihar and Orissa Report from the special (C. I. D.) File No. 56 of 1912 C. S. A. P.

Leftism[3] made its first appearance on the Indian scene only after the 1st World War. Previous to this period and throughout the 19th century and in the beginning of the 20th century changes were taking place in the social, economic and political fields which gradually prepared the grounds for the emergence of Leftism after the war under the impact of British rule a transformation of the socio-economic structure of the Indian Society took place, leading ultimately to the establishment of modern industries. The first impact of the Industrial Revolution immensed in altogether different social, economic and cultural enviornment, and gave rise to the sporadic protest movements of workers and peasants against the new order.

The most irksome and dreaded system of indigo planting was Assami war or Ryoti system which was popularly known as 'Tin Kathia' system in North Bihar. "The raiyati system is the fruitful mother of innumerable evils".[4] Towards the close of 1912, a series of articles entitled "The Planters and the Ryots" appeared in the Biharee, a Patna newspaper which was edited by Maheshwar Prasad, an influential publicman and eminent journalist. These articles dealt with the indigo affairs of North Bihar, condemned the alleged oppressive conduct of the planters. Mr. Narayan also met Rainy, the Collector of Champaran, on 1st December, 1912 and expressed the desire to enquire into the alleged grievance of the tenants. Although he was permitted to do so, he could not pursue his contemplated enquiry, for his services as editor were soon dispensed with. His removal from service created consternation in the public and it was widely believed that it had been done at the behest of the Government to stifle the enquiry into the question.[5] The fearless editor of the Biharee did not spare the Lieutenant Governor from his sarcastic pen when Mr. Charle's Bayley, in reply to the address of welcome by the

3. Left Wing in India, 3 vols, Sinha, Dr. L. P.

4. Bengal Peasant Life, London pp. 327 : 330, Day Lal Behari quoted in Peasants Uprising and Mahatma Gandhi in Champaran, Mittal, S. K. p. 40.

5. Note by E. V. Levinge, dated 2nd June 1917, Political (special) Department File No. 1571 of 1917 C. S. A. P. quoted in the *Peasants Uprising and Mahatma Gandhi*, Mittal, Dr. S. K. pp. 120-21.

planters at the fair of Sonepur observed that the relationship between the planting community and the ryots will always remain on the "Present Satisfactory Footing", he wrote a long article under the caption, "Has Charles been captured by Planters". The article referred to the "genial influence of Sonepore" where without hurting the ryots "an ex-parte judgement was made". This paper also appealed to the Lieutenant Governor to visit Tirhut and "see and hear for himself" the ryots standpoint.[6]

The renowned publicman Brajkishore Prasad took up the indigo issue in the Legislative Council. He also raised the issue at the Bihar Provincial Conference held at Bankipore (Patna) on April 10, 1914 and at Chapra on April 3, 1915. He moved a resolution in Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council on Appril 7, 1915, requesting The Lieutenant Governor in Council to appoint a Committee of qualified officials and non-officials to look into the matter but the motion was defeated.[7]

Raj Kumar Shukla and Brajkishore Prasad met Mahatma Gandhi at Lucknow session and pursuaded him to move a resolution in the Congress on the tyranny of the planters. But Gandhijee refused it saying that he could not give his opinion without seeing the stuation.[8] Brajkishore Prasad then moved the resolution which was passed unanimously. It reads, "This Congress most respectfully urges upon the Government the desirability of appointing a mixed committee of officials and non-officials to enquire into the agrarian trouble and the strained relations between the Indian ryots and the European planters in North Bihar and to suggest remedies thereof."[9]

A strong contingent of delegates from Bihar including the representatives of the ryots went to Lucknow in 1916 to participate in the Indian National Congress. Here the eyes of the representatives of the ryots fell on Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Madan Mohan Malaviya, but as they were pre-occupied with other things, the former with the question

6. The Beharee, 3 December, 1912.
7. Bihar Land Revenue Proceeding A. Nos. 22-23 December 1915.
8. M. K. Gandhi, An Autobiography, Ahmedabad, 1959 (reprint).
9. Report on the Indian National Congress, 1916 pp. 68-69.

of self-government and the latter with the Banaras Hindu University, they declined to take up their cause.[10] The man who conceived the idea of inviting Mahatma Gandhi was one "Yamuna Prasad" of village Deogarhi, District Muzaffarpur."[11] Raj Kumar Shukla while supporting the resolution, narrated the woes of the ryots.[12] He recounted the tale of woes of the ryots. He told the National Assembly that the planters make the poor tenants work in their fields without any payment and subject them to various kinds of ill treatment.......They have become so powerful that they decide civil and criminal cases themselves and punish the poor ryots according as they choose. He concluded, I am a ryot of Champaran. I do not know what I have to suffer when I go back to Champaran for my coming here and relating the story to you all.[13]

This was the first time that a village kisan spoke from the Congress platform on a resolution.

Ultimately on the pursuasion of Raj Kumar Shukla Gandhijee visited Bihar in 1917 to have a first hand information on the conditions of the ryots. He met first of all the Secretary of Planters Association and the Commissioner of the Tirhut Division who advised him to leave Tirhut forthwith as being an outsider he had no business to come between the planters and the ryots. Undaunted Gandhiji went with his co-workers to Motihari. Same day he was served with a summon to take his trial the next day for disobeying orders to leave Champaran.[14] The trial began on the 19th April. Gandhijee came to their rescue. He read out the statement in which he said why he had come to Champaran.

"With motive of rendering humanitarian[15] and national service....... I could not render any help without studying the problem........As a law-

10. The Indian Nation, 2 Oct., 1969, "Those Unforgettable Days", Ram Dayal Shah.

11. The Indian Nation, 2 October, 1969.

12. Bihar Special Branch Intelligence Report, dated 13 January, 1917.

13. Bihar and Orissa Police Abstract of Intelligence for 1917.

14. M. K. Gandhi : An Autobiography, Ahmedabad reprint 1959, pp. 302-303.

15. The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi, Vol. XIII, pp. 374-75.

abiding citizen my first instinct would be to obey the order served upon me. But I could not do so without doing violence to my sense of duty to those for whom I have come.......I venture to make this statement not in any way in extenuation of the penalty to be awarded to me but to show that I have disregarded the order served upon me not for want of respect for lawful authority but in obedience to the higher law of our being, the voice of conscience." Consequently at the intervention of the Lieutenant Governor the case against Gandhijee was withdrawn and he was allowed to conduct his enquiry. He with the help of his co-workers, took statements of over 25,000 tenants both at Bettiah and Motihari.[16] The ever-growing number of ryots coming to make statement increased the wrath of the planters who moved heaven and earth to counteract the inquiry. One day Gandhijee received a letter from the Lieutenant Governor "your inquiry has been prolonged, should you not bring it to an end ?" Gandhijee replied that the inquiry was bound to be prolonged, and unless and until it resulted in bringing relief to the people he had no intention of leaving. He pointed out that it was open to the Government to terminante his inquiry by accepting the grievances of the ryots as genuine and redressing them or by recognising that the ryots had made out a prima facie case for an official inquiry which should be instituted immediately.[17] Consequently the Lieutenant Governor Edwar Gait announced the setting up of an inquiry committee led by Frank Sly and also made Gandhijee a member of the committee. At the instance of Edward Gait the Committee made unanimous report which was accepted by the Government and agrarian bill was passed in accordance with the recommendations of the Committee. It resulted in abolition of Tinkathia system and cancellations of enhancement to the extent recommended. The Government asked the British Raj to refund to the ryots 25 percent of the amount which was to be paid back by the planters and to realise it from them. As a result the planters sold their lands, factories and livestocks and left Champaran.

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16. Among the co-workers of Gandhijee were Briajkishore Prasad, Rajendra Prasad. Ram Narain Prasad, Dharnidhar, Janakdham Prasad and Gorakh Prasad.

17. M. K. Gandhi, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

Of course, not only Mahatma Gandhi but the World War I and its aftermath, the new political situation, the rapidly deteriorating economic condition as also the impact of the Russian Revolution had a contributing effect. It resulted in peasants unrest in different parts of the country which manifested through three anti-zamindar movements—Kisan Sabha movement in Bihar and the United Provinces, the ryot association in Bengal and the anti-begar agitation in the Punjab and Central Province.

The Champaran movement in a sense was not fought under the banner of the Indian National Congress although it was led by eminent Congressmen. As a result of the success of the Champaran Movement the Indian National Congress assumed a mass character and a large number of peasants visited the Delhi session of the Congress in 1918. The Amritsar session of the Congress was presided over by Hasan Imam, an eminent Congressman in Bihar, where for the first time *Kisan Sabha* moved a resolution on the demands of the peasantry. It reads : "That peasants all over India be declared actual owners of soil they cultivate; that peasants should be subjected to tax, but not to rent that in provinces, where zamindari tenure pervails, the ownership to lands be bought up and given over to the tenants."[18] Commenting on the resolution the then Director of the Intelligence Bureau wrote in his report, "Russian pro-Bloshevik practice, in the matter of division of land, would appeal to them (the Indian Peasants) very much."[19]

During the Non-cooperation Movement the Kisan Sabha devoted much attention to Bihar and Orissa and the United Provinces formenting grievances of the peasants against landlords and the Government[20] and peasants started their annual conferences. The suspension of the Non-cooperation movement by Gandhiji gave new dimension to the agrarian movement and the peasants became more vocal and determined to win their points. It brought to the fore Swami Sahajanand[21], a dandi sanyasi,

18. Government of India, Home Department progs, January 1921.

19. Ibid.

20. Government of Bihar and Orissa, Political (special) File No. 169 of 1928.

21. For detail, about Sahajanand see Mera Jivan Sangharsh.

to organise resistance movement. Sahajanand on March 4, 1928 founded the *West Patna Kisan Sabha* aimed at fighting against the socio-economic exploitation of the peasants by landlords.[22] On November 18, 1929 prominent non-cooperators of the province called a conference at the Sonepur Fair and set up the *Bihar State Kisan Sabha*, a central organisation, aimed at opposing the proposed Bihar Tenancy Act which has anti-peasant provisions.[23] Swami Sahajanand became the President of the Sabha, Shri Krishna Sinha, General Secretary and Jamuna Karji, Guru Sahay Lal and Kailash Bihari Lal became Divisional Secretaries. All prominent Congressmen such as Rajendra Prasad, Ram Dayalu Singh, Sheo Shankar Jha, Dip Narayan Singh of Hajipur, Baldev Sahay, Jugal Narayan Lal and Girish Tiwari became its members.

The Kisan Sabha held an important meeting on Feb. 14, 1933 at Gulab Bagh, Patna, where after an acrimounious discussion a resolution was passed requesting the Government to stop the bill. As Secretary of the Sabha, Guru Sahay Lal was directed to oppose the bill in the Council and resign his membership in case the Government was adamant.[24]

The formation of the *Congress Socialist Party* in 1934 and its active participation in the Kisan Movement strengthened the Kisan Sabha and influenced by its radical programme. Among the persons associated with the inception of the Bihar Socialist Party were Jai Prakash Narain, Phulan Prasad Varma and Rahul Sankrityayana (then known as Romodar Das). He joined the C. S. P. on the pursuasion of J. P. because Massani had criticised the Soviet Russia but J. P. assured him that it is his own views not of the party *(Meree Jivan Yatra)*. The object of the party which bore resemblance to a Fabixan Society spoke of the establishment of a Socialist State which would not recognise right to private property and which would emancipate land and capital from individual and class ownership and rest them in the community so that the advantage might

22. Swami Sahajanand Sarawati, Mera Jivan Sangharsh, Bihar, Patna 1952 pp. 321-22.
23. Political (special), File No. 281 of 1929.
24. Swami Sahajanand Saraswati *op. cit.*, Bihar Patna 1952, pp. 397-98.

be equally shared by the members of the community. Its immediate objects were : (a) dissmination of socialist ideas, (b) organisation of the labour and peasants. The Party constituted an Organising Committee with Abdul Bari as President, and P. P. Verma, Ganga Sharan Sinha and Baba Ramodar Das as Secretaries. Ambika Kant Sinha became the Treasurer.[25] Early in 1934 the Party also established a Socialist Research Institute at Patna.

The active participation of the Socialists and the Communists in the peasants movement gave new dimension to the movement. Swami Sahjanand began to think in terms of the abolition of zamindari. He started to encourrage ill-feeling between the landlords and the tenants through his speeches referring prominently to the fate of the Czar and the capitalists in Russia.[26]

The Swami also propounded that the zamindari should be abolished without paying any compensation to the zamindars. To quote his-arguement, "Many are in favour of abolishing the zamindars with the view that they should get compensation. But I do not understand that why should they get any price ? Did they in 1793 buy the zamindari from the kisans after paying any price ? Will history bear witness to this ? With a single stroke of pen the whole of land was taken away from the Kisans and made over to the zamindars who during the Mughal rule served as a commission agent in realising the revenue."[27]

The formation of *All India Kisan Sabha* which was formerly known as All India Kisan Congress, the Congress Socialists, and the Communists marked the beginning of class consciousness throughout the country. Swami Sahajanand Saraswati presided over the first conference of All India Kisan Sabha who maintained that there should be no compromise

25. Manindra Narayan Ray : The Bihar I knew, in the Indian Nation, November, 9, 1961 quoted in *Left Wing in India*, L. P. Singh, p. 304.

26. Political Special File No. 16 of 1935.

27. In 1939 a Pamphlet, Zamindari Kyon Utha Li Jaye, containing the philosophy of Swami Sahajanand Saraswati was circulated. Quoted in Peasant Movement in Bihar, Dr. N. M. P. Srivastava, *The Journal of Bihar Puravid Parishad*, p. 213.

between the landlords and the peasants besides dispossession of zamindars and their land.

In Bihar, Congress Ministry came into being on 20 July, 1937. S. K Sinha was appointed Premier of this ministry. The Kisan Movement had its great impact on the policies of the Congress and Mr. S. K. Sinha was himself an active participant in the Kisan Movement. Shri Krishan Sinha took radical measures to reform the tenancy legislation. The Bihar Ministry provided great relief to the tenants by cancelling all enhancement in rent made between January 1911 and December 1936 and reducing them in the same proportion in which the prices had gone down. It also provided that the rent so settled should not be liable to enhancement for 15 years.[28]

With the enactment of the radical agrarian legislation the landlords started dispossessing the tenants of their land. Where they allowed Bakasht lands to be cultivated they refused to give them receipt for the rent either in cash or kind.[29] The Zamindar of *Barhiya Tal* in Monghyr district were the first to take offensive where a resistance movement had already been launched by *Karyanand Sharma* before the formation of the Congress Ministry. He was the hero of the Barahiya Tal movement. He continued the movement till middle of 1939.[30]

Congress set up a Committee in 1937 comprising of Rajendra Prasad and Shri Krishna Sinha to enquire into the grievances of the Barahya Tal peasants. The moderate recommendations of the Committee were not accepted by the zamindar. The Collector of the Monghyr set up a Panchayat which was able to provide hardly 1,000 bighas of land to the tenants. Apart from that a zamindar of Patna conceded the right of kisans over 18,000 bighas of the Tal land.[31]

The movement spread to other districts and areas. The peasants of Reora in Gaya district resorted to Satayagraha under the leadership

28. The Indian Annual Register, July-December 1938, pp. 246.

29. Political Special, File No. 29 VIII.

30. Swami Sahajanand, *op. cit.*, pp. 515-16.

31. Swami Sahajanand, *op. cit.*, p. 516.

of Yadunandan Sharma for 1,000 bighas of land dispossessed by the zamindars and succeeded in getting 850 bighas for collective farming. A similar satyagraha was also led by Mahapandit Rahul Sankrityayan in village Amvari in Saran district and he succeeded in getting some concessions for the tenants. Bakasht satayagraha was also waged in Majhiwan, Anuan, Agda, Bhalua, Majhare and Sandha in Gaya district, Bargaon, Darigaon and Murair in Shahabad district. It is the special features of the movement even women fought with the goondas of the landlords in Barahiya, Majhiawan and some other places.[33]

Kisan Sabha in the process of its struggle established its own base. Specially in the rural side in Bihar it is the only organisation which has its own base. The cause of the strong base was the active participation of the labour, peasants and Raiyats. They have two third population. Sahajanand Saraswati has provided leadership for them. Swamijee had dashing personality and firm determination. He had no faith in the nonviolence creed of the Congress. And hence the relation between the Congress and the Kisan Sabha had never been cordial. When the Bihar Pradesh Kisan Sabha was established many of the Congress leaders vehemently opposed its formation. They maintained that when the Congress was already there to fight for the cause of kisans, there was no need for separate organisation to further similar cause. In course of time relations between the Congress and the Sabha became strained owing to some basic differences between the two. Rajendra Prasad leader of the Congress never allowed him to transgress his limit, and when he crossed it he was packed and expelled from the Congress. So Sahajanand Saraswati had no other alternative than to shake hand with the Communists and other progressive elements of the society.

Although the formation of Communist Party of India (Bihar unit) took place after the Kisan Movement, Communists were working under the banner of Congress Socialist Party. But there was rift between the Socialists and the Communist Party was established in Bihar on 20th

32. Ibid. pp. 520-21.

33. For detail see ibid, pp. 521-524.

October 1939 in Monghyr. The persons who were present at the formation of the party were following :[34] Mr. Sunil Mukherji, Gayan Vikas Maitra, Anil Maitra, Viswa Vikas Maitrya. Binod Bihari Mukherji, Ratan Roy, Devnkinandan Singh, Basudeo (all from Monghyr), Ras Bihar Singh, Dayanand Jha, Kartik Sah, Adhik Lal (all from Bhagalpur), Shyaml Kishore Jha (Saharsa), Vishwanath Mathur (Gaya), Shivbachan Singh (Saran), Tolo Chaudhari, Sarat Patanayak, Kripa Sindhu Khatiya, Ali Asharaf and Rahul Sankrityayana.

Right from its birth The Communist Party was subjected to certain restrictions. In 1940 the general session of Congress was going on Ramgarh in Bihar. Those days Communist Party was not in a position to avail liberty. Gandhiji and Congress Working Committee were of the view that if Britishers are ready to give freedom to India after World War only, Congress should co-operate with them in their efforts for 2nd World War. Communist Party decided how Rudradutt could reach to the dais of Congress General Session. But the British police was prepared to arrest him in white uniform. In this connection eminent leaders of the Congress met Jawaharlal Nehru to search out some solution to it. Pandit Nehru got excited and he went to Gandhiji and said "will we allow British police to restrict the member of Congress Working Committee from participating in the session". Gandhi wanted to know the reason. After hearing Pandit Nehru, Gandhi assured Pandit Nehru that Mr. Rudradutt will be accompanied by him to the session. Gandhiji knew it well that Communist do have the different opinion over the issue of co-operating with the Britishers in World War. Rudradutta reached the dais with Gandhiji. Rudradutt delivered speech and disappeared thereafter. Though Mr. Karyanand Sharma and Z. A. Ahmed were Communists they remained in Congress Committee. Till 1948, Communist Party had affirmative attitude towards Congress. This way, the leftist thought inside the Congress got strenghened on one side, on the other side Communist Party by struggling hard with the help of Congress workers, increased its own strength and militancy.

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34. The birth of Communist Party in Bihar and its development, Krishna Chandra Chaudhary, pp. 8-9.

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Only within three months from the date of the formal inception of Bihar Communist Party, the only anti-war strike of industrial labour took place at Dalmianagar on 26th January 1940 at the call of the Party. It was under the leadership of Manzar Rizvi who was the unparallel leader of labour there. Rizvi remaining under the banner of Party and among the labourers, was engaged in dissminating the Marxist thoughts and Communist views right from the post-inception period of Communist Party. In 1943, the general session of the Party was held at Bombay in which Rizvi was elected for the central committee. After the strike of 26th June 1940, Rizvi was expelled from the Congress Socialist Party after being declared as Communist. Not only this, he was put in jail for the offence that he was the member of a Party like Communist one. Those days the leadership of Congress Socialist Pary, took its policy based decision—"whoever being Communist in the Party, his name will be informed to the Government". This helped the Government in searching out and arresting the Communists. However, the difference between the Congress Socialist and the Communists was from the very past. J. P. was fundamentally anti--Communist. When, in the session of Tripuri, Subash Chandra became the president of Congress Party after defeating the then president Pattabhi Sitaramaiya, Mr. Govind Ballabh Pant, with a view to have a control over him (Mr. Bose), advised him to form working committee on the advice of Mahatma Gandhi. At the instance of J. P. the Socialist remained aloof from the voting and the resolution was passed. As the result Subash Chandra Bose resigned from the presidentship, due to which many such people joined Communist Party who considered J. P. to be their leader.

Communist Party, Congress Socialist Party and Forward Block—all the three were leftist parties. All the three parties were against this view to help the British rulers in respect of war. But there was difference of opinion among themselves in respect of their understanding regarding the character of war and their anti-war programme. Communists were anti-war due to their view that Britishers were imperialist. British, France and Germany were fighting separately for the redivision of the world. That is why, there was neither the question to help Britishers nor to have soft

corner for German Fascism. Their view was that to help them was to allow them to continue and to strenghthen the Fascism.

But the opinion of Congress-Socialist Party and Forward Block was somewhat different. They wanted the defeat of Britishers anyway, because they expected Indian freedom only when the Britishers were defeated and so it was natural that they could not get rid of the feeling of "enemy of enemy our friend." This very point of difference among the Congress Socialist Party. Communist Party and Forward Block became the cause of separation in the second phase of world war.

Right from 1934 Communist Party was unlawful. National movement time and again demanded from Britisher rulers to declare this party legal. Home member of Indian Government put many questions before Sir Razinold Maxwell and P. C. Joshi and gave his report and the Communist Party was declared legal on 24th July, 1942.

This way, right from the days of national freedom movement; Communist Party changed faces and lastly it culminated in the freedom of India on 15th August, 1947. And in 1952 all the parties fought election on the basis of their separate election programme—manifesto.

Research Fellow-cum-Asstt. Director
K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute
Patna

Contribution of Bihar to Indian Historiography : A Note on the Problems and Methodology of the Study of Feudalism in Indian History

DR. V. K. THAKUR

The historiographical scenario in Bihar has marked a distinct shift from traditionalism and nationalism to progressivism and scientific comprehension over the past seventy-five years. This has been a long and orduous journey, but a journey that has completely transformed the nature of our understanding of the past. Bihar has remained a focal point of historiography and all major historical trends seem to have emanated from amongst the Patna School of historians. One such area of research and evaluation has been the understanding of feudal formation *vis-a-vis* the Indian history. The feudal model, thus, put forward has been a matter of a serious debate amongst historians, which, in turn, has profoundly affected the very nature of Indian historiography.

The nature and applicability of the model of Indian Feudalism, comprehensively worked out for the first time by R. S. Sharma,[1] has been seriously challenged by a number of scholars.[2] The anti-feudal

1. *Indian Feudalism* : c. 300-1200 (Calcutta, 1965).

2. D. C. Sircar, *Landlordism and Tenancy in Ancient and Medieval India as Revealed by Epigraphic Records* (Lucknow, 1969), pp. 32-48; idem, *Studies in the Political and Administrative System in Ancient and Medieval India* (Delhi, 1974), pp. 1-30; idem, *Numismatic and Epigraphical Records* (Calcutta, 1977), pp. 16-29; idem, *Some Problems of Indian History and Culture* (Ahmedabad, 1974), pp. 16-22; idem, *The Emperor and the Subordinate Ruler* (Santiniketan, 1982), *in passim*, idem (ed.), *Land System and Feudalism in Ancient India* (Calcutta, 1966), pp. 11-23; *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XLIV (1966), pp. 351-357; *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, Vol VI (1972-73), pp. 337-339; *Journal of Indian History*,

stance primarily hinges around the crucial comparison between early medieval Indian complex with its West European counterparts, thereby crudely implying the existence of a standardised feudal pattern operating only in select regions of the world. No doubt, feudalism was not a universal phenomenon (a point poignantly suggested by Marx himself),[3] but neither was it a standardised stage of social evolution.[4] Feudalism, therefore, has to be comprehended as a particular stage of historical development with a distinct mode of distribution of the means of production and appropriation of the surplus.[5] Comparisons between contemporary societies are certainly helpful for a proper understanding of the main currents of historical development, but such comparisons should not boil down to simplistic statistical standardised conclusions. This tantamounts to negating the very idea of the existence of not so-uniform elements of continuity and change in differing societies. Any study of Indian feudalism should refrain from laying too much emphasis upon identifying, in early medieval context, all such manifestations which obtained in the pre-capitalist societies of Western Europe. Some of the

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Vol. LI (1973), pp. 456-459; K. K. Gopal, 'Defining Feudalism in the Context of Early Medieval India', in L. Gopal (ed.), *D. D. Kosambi Commemoration Volume* (Varanasi, 1979), pp. 116-122; H. Mukhia, 'Was there Feudalism in Indian History ?', *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, Vol. 8, no. 3, pp. 273-310; B. D. Chattopadhyaya, 'Trade and Urban Centres in Early Medieval North India', *The Indian Historical Review*, Vol. 1, no. 2, pp. 203-219; M. R. Tarafdar, 'Trade and Society in Early Medieval Bengal', *The Indian Historical Review*, Vol. IV, no. 2, pp. 274-284; A. Rudra, 'Against Feudalism', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XVI, no. 52 (Dec. 26, 1981), pp. 2133-2146; S. Gopal *et al*, 'A Note on R. S. Sharma's Ideas on Indian Feudalism', *The Indian Historical Review*, Vol. I, no. 2, pp. 441-444.

3. Eric Hobsbawm, 'From Feudalism to Capitalism', in Rodney Hilton (ed.), *The Transition from Feudalism to Capitalism* (London, 1976), pp. 158-159.
4. Marx says that feudalism "assumes different aspects and runs through its various phases in different orders of succession" (Marx-Engels, *Pre-Capitalist Socio-Economic Formations*, Moscow, 1979, p. 23).
5. On the concept of 'surplus', see Paul Baran, *The Economic Theory of Growth* (Harmondsmorth, 1965).

universalistic features are bound to recur but at the same time certain typical regional manifestations do provide distinct local variations to that historical formation.

The meaning, scope and applicability of the term "feudalism" in the Indian context has been confused because of its non-discriminate use in mutually contradictory situations and widely separated chronological sequences. Such usages are completely devoid of any conceptual rigour, and view feudalism and its linguistic variants as to many simple words lacking any precise body of contents. This has not only given contradictory meanings to the word, but has also led to a reckless use of terms, like "feudatory," "feudal," "feudal lord," "feudatory state," "feudatory families," etc. As a consequence the word "feudalism" by now, has acquired divergent meanings, as between Marxist and non-Marxist historians. In the Indian context, however, the precise contents and the applicability of this term have become a matter of enlivening debate amongst the Marxist historians. D. D. Kosambi's formulations pertaining to a two-tier theory of Indian feudalism[6] is no longer accepted and, at the same time, the arguments of R. S. Sharma are being increasingly questioned. Seemingly the controversy hinges around the lack of an accepted definition of Indian feudalism. The currency of this practice of using the term in a loose fashion without any attempt at or a desire for communicating any particular meaning was noted with anguish by Marc Bloch :

> "Charged with more or less vague historical associations the word with certain writers seem to suggest no more than brutal exercise of authority, though frequently it also conveys the slightly less elementary notion of an encroachment of economic powers on public life."[7]

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6. D. D. Kosambi divides the history of feudalism in India into two distinct chronological phases—"feudalism from above" and "feudalism from below" (*An Introduction to the Study of Indian History*, Bombay, 1975, Chapter IX & X).

7. *Feudal Society* (tr. L. A. Manyon) (Chicago, 1964), p. 442.

Writing from a non-Marxist point of view, T. Raychaudhary provides one of the worst instances of this tendency. Analysing the zamindari system of Bengal he uses the word "feudal" as a mere linguistic synonym for "religious"[8]. Naturally this and similar other unintelligible usages of the term even in academic quarters have led to the degeneration of this term into an expression of disapprobation in common parlance. The picture is, however, hardly more encouraging in some of the writings apparently influenced by Marxist historical ideas. Thus, S. Nurul Hasan casually equates feudalism with each and every pre-capitalist socio-economic formation when he asserts that "the Mughal system was feudal and pre-capitalist in character".[9] Another instance of this apathy to the basic concept of feudalism is the declaration by a scholar :

> "Call it feudalism or not, there is no denial that India developed an economic system based on land".[10]

Though this is an attempt at specification in terms of feudal formation, yet the lack of the realisation that all pre-industrial economic formations are land based makes this specificity too general to convey any meaningful idea. Such a situation is primarily a result of the confusing circumstances in which studies on feudalism made a beginning in the Marxist academic circles. As far as the theory of the feudal system is concerned, Marxist scholars evinced little interest in it till the 50s.[11] Commenting upon the

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8. 'Permanent Settlement in Operation : Bakargunj District, East Bengal', in R. E. Frykenberg (ed.), *Land Control and Social Structure in India* (Madison, 1969) *in passim.*

9. *Thoughts on Agrarian Relation in Mughal India* (New Delhi, 1973), p. 3. The nature of contradiction in such writings is evident from the fact that Nurul Hasan calls medieval India feudal though by his own reckoning she did "not have any of the characteristics of western European feudalism", *ibid.*, p. 2.

10. H. C. Neogi, 'Origin of Feudalism in Ancient India', in D. C. Sircar (ed.), *Land System and Feudalism in Ancient India*, p. 95.

11. Apparently Marx studied only those elements of the feudal system which he needed for the analysis of the capitalist process of development, see Lenin, *What the 'Friends of the People' Are and How they Fight the Social Democrats*, in *Collected Works* (Moscow, 1963), Vol. I, pp. 178-179.

importance of the study of feudalism and pointing out the process and rationale for a gradual shift towards feudal studies in Marxist historiography, the Polish historian Witold Kula writes :

> "The problem is nonetheless important not only on a theoretical level, but also on a practical one. Its theoretical importance derives from the fact that feudalism--in the Marxist meaning of the term—is in a certain sense a universal phenomenon. In one from or another it exists in all the societies which have emerged from the primitive stage. The slave system did not appear everywhere; this has been generally acknowledged by Marxist scholars ever since B. D. Grekov's epic victory over M. N. Pokrovsky. Capitalism arose in a 'spontaneous' fashion—*i. e.* independent of a previously existing capitalism somewhere else in the word—only once in the history of mankind; the same could be said for socialism. On the other hand, we known of diverse feudal systems in the world—systems which arose in distinct societies and epochs, independently of one another. The theory of the feudal system is also important on a practical level because there still exist strong feudal residues in many countries. These residues still weight heavily on the economy and the entire social life of most of the so-called underdeveloped countries, which are changing the face of the globe with their struggle for economic progress. This recounts for the interest in their economic system shown by scholars both in those same countries (India) and in developed countries."[12]

Kula not only provides the rationale for studying the feudal system, but also refers to two significant aspects of contemporary feudal studies. Firstly, he draws attention to the remnants of feudal institutions in modern societies of countries like India—a situation that might explain the equation of feudalism with obsolete or pre-modern obnoxions institutional continuations in modern times; this also partially explains the source of

12. ***An Economic Theory of the Feudal System : Towards a model of the Polish Economy*** **1500-1800 (tr. L. Garner) (London, 1976), pp. 13-14.**

confusion in the usage of the term feudal in India historical and economic studies. Secondly, Kula refers to feudalism as a universal phenomenon with an important qualification attached to it, *i.e.* its regional variations. This is a point which needs proper appreciation especially in the context of the formulation of a paradigm for feudalism.

Recently A. Rudra, in an attempt to negate the existence of feudal formation in Indian context, has raised the question of its universalistic and particularistic definitions respectively.[13] He attempts a comparison between the two points of view—the definition of feudalism as a universal category as delineated by R. Coulborn and his fellow-contributors[14] with the definition of feudalism as a particular category of which perhaps Marc Bloch's version is the most systematic and very well-known.[15] Marc Bloch's summation of the characteristic features of feudalism is brief and poignant :

> "a subject peasantry; widespread use of service tenement (*i.e.* the fief)....; the supremacy of a class of specialised warriors, ties of obedience and protection.. called vassalage; fragmentation of authority....".[16]

Coulborn's definition of the universal category is more detailed and elaborate :

> "Feudalism is primarily a method of government, not an economic or a social system, though it obviously modifies and is modified by the social and economic environment. It is a method of government in which the essential relation is not that between rule and subject, nor state and citizen, but between lord and

13. *Op. cit.*, pp. 2134-2135.
14. *Op. cit.*
15. R. Coulborn (ed.), *Feudalism in History* (Princeton, 1956); it contains contributions from A. L. Kroeber (Preface), J. R. Strayer (Western Europe), E. O. Reischaner (Japan), D. Bodde (China), B. C. Brundage (Ancient Mesopotamia and Iran), W. F. Edgerton (Ancient Egypt), D. Thorner (India), E. H. Kantrorowicz (Byzantium) & M. Szeftel (Russia).
16. *Op. cit.*, p. 446.

> vassal. This means that the performance of political functions depends on personal agreements, between a limited number of individuals, and that political authority is treated as a private possession. Since personal contracts are so important in feudal government, it tends to be most effective at the local level where such contracts are easy and frequent. Since political power is personal rather than institutional there is relatively little separation of functions; the military leader is usually an administrator and the administrator is usually a judge. Military functions are prominent in most feudal societies, especially in their being.''[17]

The crucial point of departure in the two approaches is their differing areas of emphasis. For Bloch feudalism is a socio-economic formation, whereas Coulborn regards it just a method of government. Rudra's obsessive concern to deny feudal formations in India leads him to emphasise the lop-sided universalistic definition of Coulborn without realising the latter's basic misunderstanding of the problem itself. Coulborn, while tracing the origins of feudalism as a historical model, makes his position crystal clear :

> "The idea of feudalism is an abstraction derived from some of the facts of early European history. No contemporary of William the Conqueror or Godfrey of Bouillon ever used the term; it was invented by scholars, chiefly scholars of the eighteenth century".[18]

One can hardly overlook the chronological stratum that influenced Coulborn's understanding of the problem. The eighteenth century definition of feudalism was bound to be primarily couched in a legalistic garb, a situation that might explain Coulborn's over-emphasis on matters politic. His limited approach is further evinced by his attempts to underplay the element of the subjection of peasantry in a socio-economic formation. For him such a relationship could operate in any given society notwith-

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17. J. R. Strayer and R. Coulborn, 'The Idea of Feudalism', in Coulborn (ed.), *op. cit.*, quoted in A. Rudra, *op. cit.*, pp. 2131-2135.

18. J. R. Strayer and R. Coulborn, 'The Idea of Feudalism', in Coulborn (ed.), *op. cit.*, quoted in A. Rudra, *op. cit.*, p. 2134.

standing the nature of exploitation;[19] he completely ignores the question of mode of production. Rudra's stance that "these superstructural features may be expected to occur in all pre-capitalist and pre-industrial societies subject to conditions which make decentralised government more suitable than an absolutist state apparatus for the extraction and distribution of social surplus"[20] is not only a plea for lumping together all pre-capitalist socio-economic formations under a broad category, but is also an attempt for the acceptance of a rigidly standardised concept of feudalism. His own citation of Bloch completely negates such a probability :

> "Egyptian feudalism, Achaean feudalism, Chinese feudalism, Japanese feudalism—all these forms and more are now familiar concepts. The historian of the West must sometime regard them with a certain amount of misigiving. For he cannot be unaware of the different definitions which have been given of this famous term even on its native soil. The basis of feudal society, Benjamin Guerard has said, is land. No it is the personal group, rejoins Jacques Flach".[21]

This is an explicit admission not only of the lack of a standard definition of feudalism in Europe, but also of the existence of feudal societies outside Europe. This cannot be taken to imply that all historical developments of pre-capitalist Europe in their details were found in India and elsewhere, but at the same time it can be asserted that feudalism was not a monopoly of Western Europe. Thus the characterisation of early medieval Indian society as feudal should not be regarded as a historical anachronism just because it fails to manifest itself as an exact replica of the contemporary Western European developments, instead the characterisation should be evaluated and judged on the basis of institutional developments akin to and characteristic of a feudal societal formation. The view which denies even the applicability of feudalism

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19. Cited in A. Rudra, *op. cit.*, p. 2135.

20. *Op. cit.*, p. 2134.

21. *Feudal Society*, cited in A. Rudra, *op. cit.*, p. 2135.

to the Indian context is apparently too narrow to merit more serious attention.

The study of feudalism in the Indian context is, however, seriously hampered by the limitations of the available source material. To anyone trying to understand the facets of feudal manifestations, the prime task is to identify the various elements—both institutional and ideological—and narrate how these are structured into the feudal pattern. An attempt to formulate a paradigm for feudal studies, therefore, implies the necessity of a conceptual frame, a theory, to apprehend this structuring and delineate it appropriately for the purpose. The exercise entails the formulation of a set of questions relevant for the study so that the sources could meaningfully respond to the requirements. The contemporary textual material will have to be probed in the light of the answers wanted. Such an attempt not only underlines the necessity of framing a set of problems but also pointedly focuses upon the nature of the sources to be handled. It is needless to add that it is a self-abrogating academic jugglery to grasp the manifold shades of a social formation without properly examining the data at all parameters of history. But a student of ancient Indian historical paradigms cannot ignore the traditional nature of the sources. It is a truism to say the epigraphic sources, including the land-grant charters, do not enlighten us on all the aspects of the historical situation in this respect, though they help to posit diffusion of the elements of feudalism. Therefore, one cannot do without a fair amount of reliance on literary sources. Not only can the admittedly scanty, though meaningful, epigraphic evidence on this point be understood better in the light of the evidence of relevant literary texts, but also the formulations made and conclusions arrived at on the basis of the former can be supplemented profitably with the help of the latter. The literary works, however, suffer from serious limitations and their nature is such that they do not provide us with clear and categorical references to the contemporary socio-economic patterns. A pertinent problem is the absence of references to clear-cut two-fold class division in the society because of the caste framework. Any student of ancient Indian society, however, will at once realise that the caste system was

a theoretical/ conceptual framework of the society which did not always reflect the given situation; in the ultimate analysis they boiled down to the existence of and mutually antagonistic interactions between two distinct groups in the society. Ashok Rudra, least realising this situation, goes on to declare:

> "Why should we be so Europe centered to understand caste in feudal terms ? The caste system is a characteristic product of the Indian genius. If it should be considered laughable to write European history in caste terms by the same token applying feudalism to Indian history should be treated as maladroit."[22]

Rudra, however, fails to notice that studies on feudalism do not attempt an analysis of caste in feudal terms; they only attempt to comprehend the changes the caste framework in a new societal formation. Similarly, it is a common knowledge that just as caste cannot be implanted on the European soil, so no attempt is made to suggest that what developed in pre-capitalist Western Europe was found in India. Caste system is a unique development of pre-modern Indian society limited in space, but feudalism was limited in time and, therefore, not an institution which emerged in European society right from its inception. It was a phase of historical development, not a monopoly of a parlicular region, and attempt to compare the two completely dissimilar developments is hisorically malefic. R. S, Sharma rightly suggests :

> "In such a society class is best seen in the context of the unequal distribution of the surplus, which was eventually given a lasting basis by the unequal distribution of the means of production and strengthened by the development of material culture".[23]

Besides this deliberate, or otherwise, attempt to comprehend the dynamics of social institutions, instances are not lacking to suggest subjective interpretations of the source.[24] The second error stems from the

22. *Op. cit* , p. 2146.
23. 'How Feudal was Indian Feudalism ?', *Social Scientist*, Vol. 12, no. 2, p. 35.
24. D. C. Sircar's persistent equation of feudalism with landlordism is a case in point, see *The Emperor and the Subordinate Ruler*, pp. 60-79.

pedantic and highly elusive/illusive nature of the references contained in the literary compositions of the period. The different texts suffer from varying degrees of limitations and as such all of them cannot be placed on the same level. A process of identification of the useful strands in literary texts alongwith their heirarchical gradation in order of their mutual utility has to be initiated for overcoming some of their problems; this may minimise even the element of error in historical interpretations pertaining to feudalism. In this context, one cannot overlook the need for locating new sources, preferably non-traditional, to supplement the existing fund of knowledge on the topic. B. N. S. Yadav has done a commendable service to feudal studies in India by directing attention to the hitherto unexplored early treatises on horoscopy, a branch of *jotiṣaśāstra* (astrology and astronomy), which not only deals with the art of predicting the events of a person's life and his career from his horoscope, but also throws some valuable light on the essence of the socio-economic processes and phenomena relevant to our problem.[25] By utilising some of the texts pertaining to horoscopy Yadav undeniably suggests that the use of such unconventional literary works can certainly expand the source base of the historical investigation of the emergence of feudal relations in early India.[26]

The proper use of literary sources becomes all the more important because of the nature of archaeological repository and tools of analysis in India. Historical archaeology is, in fact, lagging far behind in respect of the materials relevant to the study of the various socio-economic problems. The archaeology of rural settlements of India is a desideratum, while material pertaining to urban archaeology is scanty. This not only impedes any serious attempt to study rural and agrarian phenomena, but also hampers the study of the nature of market economy in the early medieval context. They neither help the study of class formation, nor aid the comprehension of the dynamics of class relations. To get a way out of this apathetic situation it is incumbent upon the historians to

25. 'Presidential Address' (Section I), *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 41st Session, Bombay, 1980, pp. 20-57.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 56.

chalk out the demand on archaeology from this point of view so that it could be saved from wilderness and provided with a meaningful problem-orientation.

The limitation of the source also acts as a restraint to typological studies, because it fails to respond to questions pertaining to the changes taking place in the society. Notwithstanding this constraint, a typological study is pertinent for a proper understanding of the complex of Indian feudalism. To begin with, such an exercise will entail a comparison between early medieval Indian society and known feudal societies of the world. Such a typological exercise is also desirable because it uncovers the myth of non-applicability of feudal model to early medieval Indian situation on the ground that it does not tally with the contemporary West European developments. This "anti-feudalism" stance in historical writings fails to take note of the varying comprehensions of this development even in its so-called exclusive abode—the Western Europe.[27] In a situation when West European feudalism tends to shift its focus alongwith the historian comprehending the scene, it is rather uncharitable to posit allround similarities between this formation and the contemporary socio-economic processes in India. Thus, a comparison of this type should not imply an attempt at searching out well-knit historical models for applying them to the Indian context; it should be viewed as an exercise in comparative history. It should be noted that such a comparison is guided by a simple fact of historiography—it was the Western European feudalism which was first to be studied. Thus, the Western European medieval pattern should not be treated as a model, rather it can provide us with a framework for analysis. Any attempt that seeks to standardise feudal formation in Western Europe blatantly ignores the peculiarities or specificities inherent in every society. The comparative method has an added advantage of saving historical scholarship from searching in wilderness such features of European feudalism in India which were peculiar to the European situation. A case in point is the discussion on the manorial

27. For differing interpretations of feudal formation in Western Europe, see V. K. Thakur, *Historiography of Indian Feudalism* (Patna, 1987), pp. 4-5.

system and the attempt to identify its significant features in the Indian context least realising its specificity to the Western European situation, a point which has been recently made by D. N. Jha.[28] It should be emphasised, therefore, that the particularities of the system obtaining in some West European countries do not apply to the feudal patterns of other regions.

A typological study in the Indian context will also have to take into account the regional variations within the Indian society, necessitating thereby a comparison between different regional patterns operating under the aegis and broader category of Indian feudalism. It would be nobody's argument that India witnessed a uniform level of socio-economic development in early middle ages, nor could one say that the regional developments were too unique to admit of any uniform pattern or common parameters of continuity and change. It is rather hazardous to go for a standard model of Indian feudalism. Instead an attempt should be made to single out the common elements first, followed by the identification of specific elements of the various localities. To illustrate the point one may refer to the regional variations in the pattern of landgrants alongwith the varying categories of peasant relations. Naturally one cannot treat developments like serfdom, forced labour, decline of market economy, etc., as of uniform bearing for all regions of the Indian sub-continent. As a result, studies on feudalism sometimes become vague and resort to probabilities and far-fetched generalisations. Consequently when due to the absence of an intensive region-wise analysis of land charters a proper identification of precise areas where eviction of peasants was resorted to become difficult, one is left with the only alternative of hazarding a conjecture that the practice of eviction was specific to settled pockets having no shortage of agricultural labour, a

28. 'Presidential Address' (Section I), *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 40th session, Waltair, 1979, pp. 23-24.

29. R. S. Sharma, *Indian Feudalism* : *c*. 300-1200, Calcutta, 1965, p. 26ɔ; D. N. Jha, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-28; idem, 'Temples as Landed Magnates in Early Medieval South India (c. A. D. 700-1300), in R. S. Sharma & V. N. Jha (ed.), *Indian Society : Historical Probings*, New Delhi, 1974, p. 212 ff.

situation which was in contrast to the thinly populated backward regions characterised by the practice of attachment of peasants and merchants to the soil. Similarly in the absence of meaningful regional studies one can hardly determine the pattern of land use, the extent and impact of peasant population working in the land grant areas and that of their counterparts wroking in the non-land grant are as,[30] the precise area of donated land, etc., though these are of crucial significance for the understanding of the feudal phenomenon in early medieval India. Thus, for a comprehensive analysis of the nature, range and sub-types of the Indian variant of the feudal formation and the relations emerging out of the pattern, it is imperative to have detailed analytical investigation into its specificities, *i. e.*, regional variations, alongwith an evaluation of the role of non-feudal elements in the contemporary socio-economic *meliue*, a requirement which implies the necessity to have detailed regional studies pertaining to the early middle ages of Indian history. Only then one can properly appreciate the fact that the process and the rate of development differs from region to region obscuring all such formulations which seek to impose a standardised uniform pattern upon such processes of change.

These formulations in terms of regional variations cannot ignore the theory of segmentary states, recently put forward by Burton Stein, as a variant of the concept of Indian feudalism in the South Indian context.[31] While the Indian feudal model describes the early medieval kingdoms as weak and centralised (feudalised) successors to an earlier strong and centralised state of the Mauryan and to a lesser extent of the Gupta type, the theory of the segmentary state allows the early medieval kingdoms of South India a position on a continuum of governance formation between the tribal "stateless" form of government and a unitary state. Stein derives his concept from A. W. Southall's anthropological studies of the

30. For a methodology for this type of research, see Keith Hopkins, *Conquerors and Slaves*, Cambridge, 1978, pp. 1-10, 96-100.

31. 'The Segmentary State in South Indian History', in R. G. Fox (ed.), *Realm and Region in Traditional India*, New Delhi, 1977, pp. 3-61. For a more comprehensive application of the term, see B. Stein, *Peasant State and Society in Medieval South India*, Delhi, 1980.

Alur society in East Africa which defines segmentary state through the following characteristics:[32]

(i) Territorial sovereignty is nearly absolute at the centre but increasingly restricted towards the periphery, shading off into a ritual hegemony.

(ii) The centralised government and a specialised administrative staff exists at the centre, but there are numerous peripheral foci of administration with their own administrative staff on a reduced scale, over which the centre has only limited control.

(iii) Monopoly of coercion is limited to the centre because the peripheral foci exercise legitimate power, though again on a reduced scale.

(iv) The segmentary state is particularly characterised by several levels of subordinate foci which are organised pyramidally, repeating with a limited range the central model.

(v) The borders of the segmentary state are fluctuating because the more peripheral a subordinate authority is, the greater is the change of transferring its allegiance from one power-pyramid to another.

In the context of the Chola empire, to which Stein applies his ideal construct, he elaborates the question of sovereignty in detail. He draws a sharp distinction between actual political control and ritual sovereignty in tune with the formulation of the operation of dual sovereignty in segmentary state. Whereas the numerous centres of the state exercise all actual political control over their part or "segment", only the primary centre has the primacy of ritual sovereignty which legitimately transcends the limited area of its actual political control. Ritual sovereignty in the Chola case manifested in Rājarāja's imperial Rājarājeśvara temple, formed, according to Stein, overarching ideological element "which converted a congeries of

32. *Alur Society : A Study in Processes and Types of Domination*, Cambridge, 1956, pp. 248-49.

local political system into a segmentary state".[33] Another point emphasised by Stein, which is essential for his interpretation of the segmentary state, pertains to epigraphy. Whereas conventional historiography interprets the thousands of Chola inscriptions as evidence of the "direct" political control of the Cholas wherever these incriptions are found, Burton Stein takes them as evidence of "ritual" sovereignty. "The Chola inscriptions are intended rather obviously to distribute to all inhabited places the standardized message of a great kingship".[34] Thus, the application of the concept of segmentary state in the early medieval South Indian situation lays emphasis on the synchronic structural differentiation within the Chola kingdom. Instead of taking issues with Burton Stein, one can just point out that the concept of segmentary state is a typology confined to politico-administrative pattern, as it cannot explain the pattern of over-all changes in the society. Moreover, this theory not only suffers from serious defects, but also suggests an actual parcellisation of sovereignty. Stein also admits of the existence of a more or less closed economic pattern in the pre-11th century A. D. period in the region.[35] His understanding of the importance of *nādu* and the subsequent formulation about the lack of a bureaucracy during the Chola times is untenable.[36] His understanding of the Vijayanagar pattern *vis-a-vis* the importance of *nādu* seems dangerously close to an unwitting advocacy of the Asiatic Mode of Production.[37] Thus, the application of the concept of segmentary state to South Indian situation needs a thorough revision.[38]

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33. 'The Segmentary State in South Indian History', *op. cit.*, p. 16.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 17.

35. *Peasant State and Society in Medieval South India*, pp. 250, 251.

36. Cf. Nobora Karashima, *South Indian History and Society : Studies from Inscriptions A. D.* 850-1800, Delhi, 1984, pp. XXV, XXVII.

37. B. Stein, *op. cit.*, p. 371 ff; also, see N. Karashima, *op. cit.*, p. XXVII.

38. The formulations of Stein have been convincingly challenged by D. N. Jha, 'Relevance of "Peasant State and Society" to Pallava-Cola Times', *Abstracts of Papers* (presented to the 31st International Congress of Human Sciences in Asia and North Africa, Tokyo, 1983), pt. III, p. 489. Also, see R. Champakalakshmi, 'Peasant State and Society in Medieval South India : A Review Article,

Recently B. D. Chattopadhyaya, while trying to work out a paradigm for the study of early medieval India, not only challenges the segmentary state model as a variant of Indian feudalism,[39] but also offers a limited challenge to the political aspects of the structure of the construct of Indian feudalism.[40] He not only lays emphasis on the elements of ranking, but also refuses to accept the role of land grants in the evolution of the feudal polity. Interestingly he argues :

> "Land assignments as administrative measures are...presented as deliberate acts which corrode the authority of the State; the State not only parts with its sources of revenue but also with its coercive and administrative prerogatives. Thus feudal polity arises because pre-feudal polity decides, to use an all-too-familiar expression, to preside over the liquidation of its power. This is a curious position to take, which could be understandable only in terms of a crisis of structural significance in pre-feudal political and economic order".[41]

Chattopadhyaya, however, notices no "crisis of structural significance" in the post-Maurya times and seems to deliberately ignore the *Kali* age crisis in this context.[42] He, however, admits the chronological relevance of this crisis, but virtually denies its historical roots without any apparent reason.[43] The *Kali* age manifestations need a better appreciation[44] as they are capable of pointing towards "a crisis of structural

Indian Economic and Social History Review, Vol. 18, nos. 3-4; R. N. Nandi, 'Feudalization of the State in Medieval South India, *Social Science Probings*, Vol. 1, pp. 33-59; N. Karashima, *op. cit., in passim.*

39. 'Political Processes and Structure of Polity in Early Medieval India : Problems and Prospects', Presidential Address (Section I) to the Indian History Congress, 44th Session, Burdwan, 1983, pp. 15-18.

40. *Ibid.*, p. 4 ff.

41. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

42. *Ibid.*

43. *Ibid.*, p. 25 n. 28.

44. For a perspective analysis of the *Kali* age as a prelude to feudal socio-economic formation, see B. N. S. Yadav, 'The Accounts of the Kali Age and the Social

significance in pre-feudal political and economic order". It seems that due to the insufficiency of the two possible way outs from this chaos—the use of *daṇḍa* and the restoration of the *varṇāśramadharma*, prescribed in the contemporary texts—recourse was taken to on a wide scale to an alternative measure, the practice of land-grants from the 4th-5th centuries A. D.[45] This crisis in production relations having a clear linkage with changes in the mode of production, became instrumental in relieving the state of its responsibility of maintaining law and order in the donated areas which now became almost an exclusive concern of the beneficiaries. It will be wrong to ironically suggest, therefore, that the state presided ever its own liquidation without being influenced by the contemporary crisis in production relations.[46]

The analysis of early medieval Indian polity has also induced some scholars to posit *sāmanata*-system as a variant of the feudal model[47] with an assertion that the use of the former terminology emphasises the distinction between Indian fedualism and its European counterpart. Disputing the validity of the term fedualism in the Indian context, such views go to the extent of suggesting even the acceptability of such vague terms as "archaic-fedualism".[48] Here one needs to stress upon the limited scope and meaning of this term in the context of any attempt to comprehend the dynamics of socio-economic changes in the early medieval times. The *sāmanta*-system solely refers to the political aspect of this develop-

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Transition from Antiquity to the Middle Ages', *The Indian Historical Review*, Vol. V, nos. 1-2, pp. 31-64; R. S. Sharma, 'The Kali age : A Period of Social Crisis', in S. N. Mukherjee (ed.), *History and Thought : Essays in Honour of A. L. Basham*, Calcutta, 1982, pp. 186-203; idem, 'How Feudal was Indian Feudalism ?' *loc. cit.*, pp. 31-32.

45. B. N. S. Yadav, *loc. cit.*

46. Chattopadhyaya's suggestion that the early medieval phase of polity was in a way an intermediate phase (*op. cit.*, p. 19) seemingly ignores the linkage of this pattern of polity with the broader contemporary formation.

47. K. K. Gopal, *op. cit.*, pp. 116-122.

48. Amalendu Guha, 'Marxist Approach to Indian History—A Framework', in M. Kurian (ed.), *India—State and Society*, Bombay, 1975, pp. 47-49,

ment and that too within a limited framework of reference. It hardly conveys the basic structural changes having a bearing on the mode of production, which is crucial to the understanding of the feudal phenomenon.

Another alternative construct to Indian feudalism, being persistently projected by D. C. Sircar, is the model of landlordism.[49] His main argument centres around the general lack of contractual element in the corpus of early medieval epigraphic material. His critique of feudal polity in particular and feudalism in general is curious since he never seems to hesitate in using terms like 'fiefs' and 'vassals' in the Indian context. Apparently his prime concern seems to deny feudal formations even if it be so by using feudal terminologies and by suggesting a singularly limited variant model. Landlordism as a concept is incapable of either explaining the whole gamut of lord-peasant relations or providing a picture of the socio-economic and political processes and structure of the early medieval Indian situation.

A recurrent challenge to the paradigm of continuity and change in early medieval Indian situation has been posed by those who refuse to recognise the dynamics of change in the Indian society and blindly advocate the relevance of the Asiatic Mode of Production to the early Indian society. That this formulation eminently suited the political requirements of the imperial list historians is beyond doubt.[50] It was on the basis of the writings and reports of such authors that Marx formed his idea of the Asiatic Mode—though he never systematised it[51]—a point which might explain its irrelevance to the Indian context. Though the theory is not taken seriously by most of the Indian historians,[52] yet it has found

49. For the most recent restatement of this position, see D. C. Sircar, *The Emperor and the Subordinate Ruler*, pp. 60-79.

50. Cf. D. Lorenzen, 'Imperialism and Ancient Indian Historiography', in S. N. Mukherjee (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 84-102.

51. Cf. D. N. Jha, 'Presidential Address' (Section I), *loc. cit.*, pp. 16 & 33, n. 3.

52. D. D. Kosambi, 'The Basis of Despotism'. *The Economic Weekly*, Vol. IX (2 November, 1957), pp. 1417-19; Irfan Habib, 'Problems of Marxist Historical Analysis', *Enquiry* (New Series), Vol. III, no. 2, pp. 52-57; D. N. Jha, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-18; Romila Thapar, *Past and Prejudice*, New Delhi, 1975.

support in certain quarters outside the country.[53] However, without advocating for adoption of the Asiatic Mode of the motive behind its rejection has ben recently doubted by Rudra, who doubts even the basic credentials of Indian Marxists by unjustly characterising their Marxism as "little more than a collection of undigested and unsynthesised propositions taken from the writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and treated as so many immutable laws".[54] He, however, convincingly forgets that these alleged "rabid Marxists" who regard "Marxian laws" as "sacred" have themselves convincingly rejected the Marxian formulation of Asiatic mode of Production. Rudra cites Marian Sawer in support of his highly charged polemics. Sawer's charge that the Asian historians rejected "Marx's model of Oriental society" in order to impose an European pattern on history[55] boils down to a plea for the acceptance of the theory of "unchangeableness of Asiatic societies". Similarly Kathleen Gough's characterisation of the Chola society as a Theocratic Irrigation State on the pattern of Darcy Ribeiro[56] and its mode of production as akin to Asiatic Mode of Production, suffers from serious errors of the understanding of south Indian history. For her the beginnings of feudalism in south Indian history synchronises with the beginnings of the Vijayanagara period. The basic weaknesses of this theory, that render it lop-sided in analysis and approach, have been recently illustrated,[57] and

53. Lawrence Krader, *The Asiatic Mode of Production*, Assen, 1975; Ferenc Tokei, *Essays on the Asiatic Mode of Production*, Budapest, 1979; Karl Wittfogel, *Oriental Despotism : A Comparative Study of Total Power*, New Haven, 1957. The formulation has been, however, convincingly rejected by R. A. L. H. Gunawardana. 'The Analysis of Pre-Colonial Social Formations in Asia in the Writings of Marx', *The Indian Historical Review*, Vol. II, no. 2, pp. 365-388; Perry Anderson, *Lineages of the Absolutist State*, London, 1974; Hindess and Hirst, *Pre-Capitalist Modes of Production*, London, 1975; Eric Hobsbawm (ed.), *Pre-capitalist Economic Formations*, London, 1964.

54. *Op. cit.*, p. 2145.

55. 'Modes of Production in Southern India', *Economic and Political Weekly* (Annual Number). February, 1980, pp. 337-364.

56. *The Civilizational Process* (tr. with an introduction by Betty Megger), Harper Torchbooks, 1968.

57. K. Narashima, *op, cit.*, pp. XXVIII.

at most her methodology can be regarded as containing suggestions for the understanding of the social development of South India to a limited extent.

Thus, the alternative constructs to Indian feudal model neither succeed in comprehending the dynamics of change nor explain the overall societal pattern. When juxtaposed to the feudal model these constructs clearly betrary this lop-sided analysis and limited scope. In spite of opposition to this model in certain quarters, it remains the most logical and factually supported framework for understanding the early medieval Indian situation. It is needless to add that the main contribution to this discussion comes from Bihar.

Department of History
Patna University
Patna

APPENDIX I

The Numismatic Society of India, 1910-1987

Introduction

The first notice on Numismatic research occurred in India in the year 1790, when the discovery of Roman coins and medals was referred to in the 2nd volume of Asiatic Researches. In course of time we find the activities for coin-collections and numismatic researches were on progress with this end in view, the six enthusiasts—four I. C. S. Officers, viz; Sir Richard Burn, K. T. C S. I., I. C. S. (Allahabad), Col. H. R. Nevil, C. I. E., I. C. S. (Ghazipur), Hon'ble H. Nelson Wright, I. C. S. (Allahabad), R. B. Whitehead, Esqr, I. C. S. (Punjab), one clergy—Rev. Dr. G. P. Taylor, D. D. (Ahmedabad) and an Indian Parsee coin-collector, Framjee Thanawala (Bombay) were present in the inaugural function of the coin conference on the 20th December, 1910 at a little Bungalow at Allahabad in which Rev. G. P. Taylor presided. The Numismatic Society of India was originally constituted with Hon'ble Sir John Stanley, the Chief Justice of Allahabad High Court as its first President and Mr. R. B. Whitehead as Hony. Secretary-cum-Treasurer for advancement of the scientific studies of Indian Numismatics onwards. The said meeting decided to approach the Royal Numismatic Society (England) for affiliation and get it registered under the Registration Act of 1860 of the U. P. Government, which was done much later in the year 1930. The contributed research papers of the Society members were published in the Numismatic supplement of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal since 1904, though it was founded in 1910. The Asiatic Society of Bengal, was founded by Sir William Jones at Calcutta in 1784. Afterwards, the members of the Numismatic Society of India at Calcutta session in 1938, decided to publish their own Journal independently. In 1914, the Society came in close association with the members hailing from England, America, Russia,

Austria and Holland as well as from Burma, Singapure and Ceylon. It is to be noted here that Mr. R. B. Whitehead along with Mr. Nelson Wright and Mr. Richard Burn, were the three real founders of the Society. After 1927, its non-Indian Active members were found on an exit and the Indians have gradually taken over their place onwards. Sir John Stanley, the founder President of the Society had acquired books from the rich collection of Dr. Taylor after his demise in 1920 and presented it to the Society for reference library, and on his name the *Taylor* Library was opened since then.

Besides, holding seminars and annual conferences all over India, the Society during the period under review, has published a large number of standard books on Memoirs, Special essays, Lectures, Catalogues, Journals, Indices related to the Indian old coins, medals, seals, sealings and allied subjects. Further it went on to manage the exhibitions on coins, medals, seals, sealings and paper currencies and the award of medals in varities for distinct works in the field to the renowned scholars. The Whitehead, Vincent Smith, Prinsep, Cunnigham, Rapson, Hoeernle, Allan, Jackson, Valentine, Henderson as well as among Indians such as Altekar, Jayaswal, Durga Prasad, Bhandarkar, Hodiwala, Sircar, Gupta, Bajpai, A. K. Narain, Dixit, Ghosh, Khare, Trivedi and many others are praiseworthy.

The Banaras Hindu University came forward in the year 1957 to offer free land for construction of its building and the foundation-stone was laid on the 25th December, 1961 by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, the first Vice-President of India, naming it as *Altekar Smarak Bhawan*. Dr. K. P. Jayaswal was honoured with award of silver special medal in 1935 and he had chaired its sessions at Mysore and Udaipur in 1935 and 1936, where in his address, he had hinted boldly and evidently about the royal coinage of Mauryas and that of Yaudheyas, while Dr. Altekar, the founder Director of the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna had occasion to preside over its conferences at Patna (for the third time) and Bombay in 1946 and 1947 respectively. In 1954, Dr. Altekar brought out a major publication on the famous Bayana Hoard and the coinage of

Gupta Empire Vol. IV in 1957. The Society awarded him the Nelson Wright Bronze Medal in 1945 and the Chakravikram Gold Medal 1956. He was very keen to draw the attention of the State Governments and the Central Government of India for grants-in-aid to the Society, in order to promote the academic interests and publications because no student of Indian History and Culture can deny that the numismatics is equally important as primary source material for the reconstruction of our history and culture. The coinage of the Indo-Greeks was prepared by Dr. A. K. Narain and Dr. P. L. Gupta did the work on Punch Marked coins and he had chaired the Gauhati Session in 1959. The Society had awarded him the Silver as well as Bronze Medals in 1952 and 1960. Dr. S. V. Sohoni, I. C. S. the first Lokayukta of the Government of Bihar and renowned Indologist became its President at Aligarh and Varanasi Sessions in 1960 and 1961, which resulted in publishing additional Journal of Bihar Research Society, Patna under his editorship known as The Indian Numismatic Chronicle in the year 1960.

Dr. B. P. Sinha, Ex-Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology (P. U.) and Ex-Director K. P. Jayasawal Research Institute, Patna had chaired the Patna session for the fourth time in 1969. Prof. U. Thakur, Head of the Department of Ancient Indian and Asian Studies (M. U., Bodh Gaya), was awarded Akabar Silver Medal in 1971-75 and made its General-Secretary during 1977-1981 and President of the Ujjain Session in 1982. Prof. K. D. Bajpai (Sagar University, M. P.) has exceptional fervour for promoting the academic interests of the Society since long and he had presided over the Lucknow session in 1968.

Dr. Lallanji Gopal the Hony. General Secretary of the Society, was its Chairman during 1977-81 and was awarded Chakravikram Gold Medal in 1984. He had interest to promote the cause of the Society and deserves our praise.

In the beginning, the coin collection was supposed to be a hobby particularly for Govt. officers, engaged in either civil or military services, but now the criteria is changed due to regular stren nuous efforts of the

Numismatic Society of India for promotion of academic interest, making the coin-collectors as Numismatists.

The Patna is credited to have hosted its sessions for the first and second time on 6.1.1924 and 18-12-1930 respectively, chaired by two eminent non-Indians such as Sir John Bucknill K. T. K. C., the Hon'ble justice and an executive member of the Bihar (and Orissa) Research Society Patna and the other, Mr. H. E. Stapleton, the member associate of the Numismatic Society of India and Editor of the Catalogue of Provincial Cabinet of Eastern Bengal and Assam. Now again, Patna is proud of holding the Platinum Jubilee Session of the Numismatic Society of India for the fifth time on 13-15 December 1987, as a matter of fact, at a time, when Patna itself is jubilant to witness its own Platinum Jubilee session as it was made the Metropolice of modern Bihar along with Orissa in the year 1912 by the British Government in India. Now we have also to witness, along with it the 40th year of independence of our country. And for this credit goes to Professor P. N. Ojha, Honorary General Secretary, Bihar Research Society, Director, K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute and Chairman-cum-Director, Bihar Sanskrit Academy, Patna who is also the Director, Higher Education of Bihar under whose guidance these institutions are humming with acadamic activities.

Sriniwas Sharma Shastri

The Numismatic Society of India, 1910-1987

List of Annual Conferences and Presidents

Sl. No.	*Venue*	*Year*	*General Presidents*
—	Allahabad	28.12.1910	The Original Conference
1.	Delhi	9.12.1911	Sir John Stanley Kt, K. C. I. E., C. B. E.
2.	Bareilly	24.12.1913	Rev. G. P. Taylor, D. D.
3.	Lucknow	30. 1.1914	Rev. G. P. Taylor, D. D.
4.	Lucknow	29. 1.1915	Sri H. Nelson Wright I. C. S.
5.	Lucknow	21. 1.1916	Shri R. Burn, C. S. I., I. C. S.
—	Bombay	4. 3.1916	Sub. Committee.
6.	Ahmedabad	6. 2.1917	Sri. R. Burn, C. S. I., I. C. S.
7.	Lucknow	28.12.1917	Sri W. E. M. Campbell, I. C. S.
8.	Bombay	31. 1.1919	Sri R. Burn, C. S. I., I. C. S.
9.	Bareilly	18. 2.1920	Sri H. Nelson Wright, I. C. S.
	Bombay	12. 8.1920	(Sub-Committee)
10.	Banaras	28.12.1920	Sri H. Nelson Wright I. C. S.
	Bombay	10. 6.1921	(Sub-Committee)
11.	Delhi	30.12.1921	Colonel H. R. Nevill, C. I. E., O. B. E., I. C. S.
—	Bombay	30.11.1922	(Sub-Committee)
12.	Lucknow	30.12.1922	Prof. S. H. Hodiwala, M. A.
13.	Patna	6. 1.1924	Sri John A. Bucknill K. A. K. C.
14.	Agra	29.12.1924	Sri. H. Nelson Wright, I. C. S.
15.	Bombay	16. 1.1926	H. R. Nevill, C. I. E., O. B. E., I. C. S.
16.	Agra	2. 1.1927	Col. H. R. Nevill, C. I. E., C. B. E., I. C. S.
17.	Bombay	29.12.1927	The Hon'ble Mr. A. W. Botham C. S. I., C. I. E., O. B. E., I. C. S.
18.	Banaras	13. 1.1929	Col. H. R. Nevil, C. I. E., O. B. E., I. C. S.
19.	Calcutta	21.12.1929	Sri. M. F. C. Martin, R. E.
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22.	Bombay	21.12.1932	Sri A. Master C. I. E., I. C. S.

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59.	Nagpur	10.11.1970	Prof. T. V. Mahalingam
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73.	Dharwar	5.11.1985	Dr. Shobhana Gokhale
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75.	Patna	13.12.1987	Prof. Irfhan Habib

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1984 Dr. I. K. Sharma

APPENDIX III

Messages for Indian Numismatic Chronicle

RASHTRAPATI BHAVAN
NEW DELHI

January 7, 1960.

Pausa 17, 1881 (Saka).

I am very happy to learn that a new journal styled, the Indian Numismatic Chronicale, would be published under the auspices of the Bihar Research Society.

Numismatic research has made significant contributions to Indian history. Old coins are valuable historical documents on the basis of which it has been found possible to come to reliable findings and to throw light on many an obscure chapter in the history of this country. Historical materials in Bihar are now being put to an increasing use in the evaluation of developments in Indian history; and I hope that through the medium of the Indian Numismatic Chronicle, the examination and interpretation of such materials from all parts of the country, would be done on a scientific basis.

I wish this enterprise in the publication of historical research every success.

Rajendra Prasad

CHIEF MINISTER
BIHAR

PATNA
June 23, 1960

I congratulate the Bihar Research Society on its decision to bring out the Indian Numismatic Chronicle, a journal which will be devoted to the study of coins.

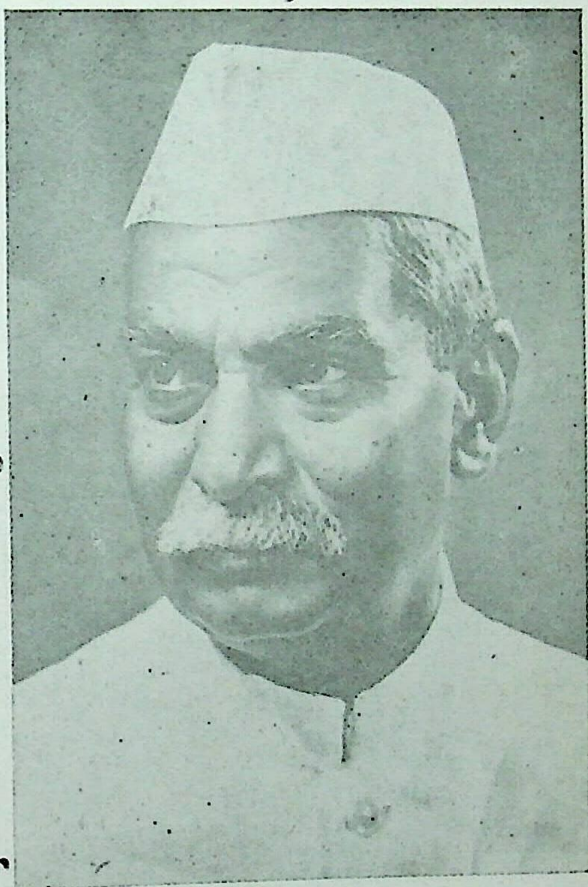
On account of its natural wealth and easy communications, trade and commerce developed fully in the Magadha region, a long time ago. In these circumstances, there is no doubt that money was consequently used for serving all its three functions, viz., as the medium of exchangs, as an unit of account, and as a store of value. Our problem is, how far back in time we are able to go, in order to find evidence regarding these three aspects. The copper and silver punch-marked coins represent the earliest Indian currency so far discovered. It is not unlikely that further light might be thrown on earlier systems of currency, as archaeological exploration progresses.

A proper study of old coins is one of our most dependable sources of information regarding our past. They not only tell us about political conditions, but also about prevailing culture. It is well known that Bihar abounds in numismatic wealth, which awaits comprehensive investigation by scholars.

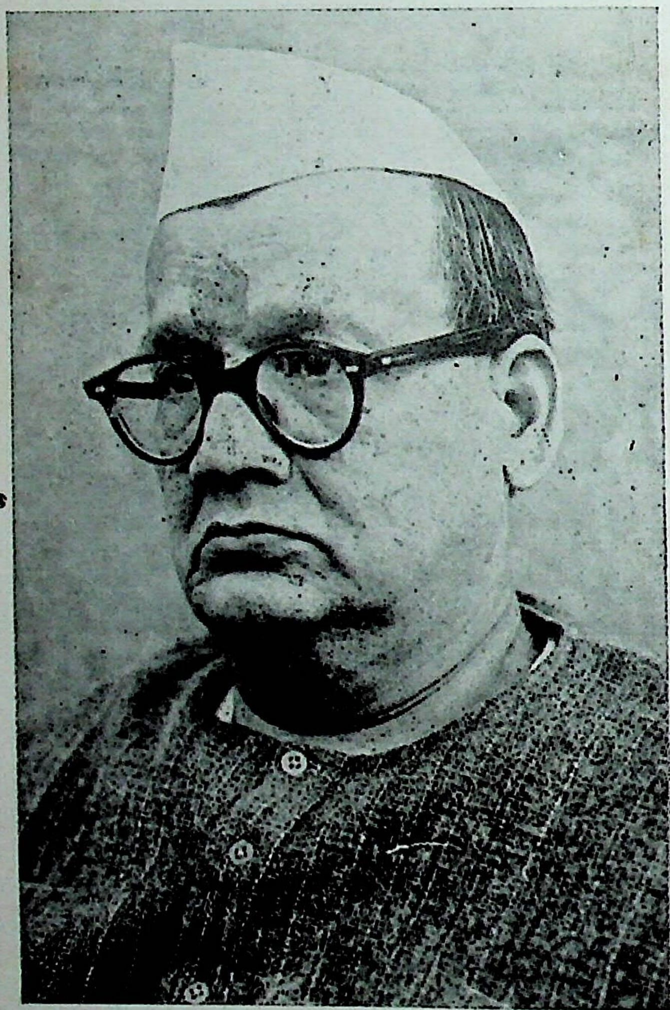
I therefore welcome the enterprise of the Bihar Research Society and hope that through the medium of this new journal, more and more light would be thrown on such problems of our civilization.

I wish the Indian Numismatic Chronicle and its editor, Shri S. V. Sohoni, I. C. S., every success in this undertaking.

S. K. Sinha



Dr. Rajendra Prasad
First President of India



Shri Shri Krishna Sinha

APPENDIX IV

Present Judges of the Patna High Court

1.	Hon'ble Mr. Justice		B. P. Jha	Chief Justice
2.	,,	,,	S. K. Jha	Judge
3.	,,	,,	N. P. Singh	,,
4.	,,	,,	Udai Sinha	,,
5.	,,	,,	S. Ali Ahmad	,,
6.	,,	,,	B. P. Sinha	,,
7.	,,	,,	S. S. Hasan	,,
8.	,,	,,	Binoda Nand Singh	,,
9.	,,	,,	R. C. P. Sinha	,,
10.	,,	,,	S. N. Jha	,,
11.	,,	,,	S. B. Sanyal	,,
12.	,,	,,	K. B. Sinha	,,
13.	,,	,,	R. N. Thakur	,,
14.	,,	,,	Prabha Shankar Mishra	,,
15.	,,	,,	Abhiram Singh	,,
16.	,,	,,	R. N. Prasad	,,
17.	,,	,,	S. H. S. Abidi	,,
18.	,,	,,	U. P. Singh	,,
19.	,,	,,	P. B. Prasad	,,
20.	,,	,,	B. N. Agrawal	,,
21.	,,	,,	B. N. Sinha	,,
22.	,,	,,	S. C. Mookherji	,,
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RANCHI BENCH

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26.	,,	,,	L. P. N. Shahdeo	,,
27.	,,	,,	B. P. Singh	,,
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